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AN INTRODUCTION TO CHINESE PHILOSOPHY

TAN YUN-SHAN

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

THE German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer said : "Man is a philosophical animal." The Chinese philosophers say : "Man is the most intellectual of all beings". Philosophy is therefore common to all peoples. In other words, all peoples have their own philosophies.

But strictly speaking, there are only three main systems of philosophy in the world, namely : (1) European philosophy, including American philosophy ; (2) Indian philosophy ; and (3) Chinese philosophy. European philosophy sprang from Greek sources and its peculiar characteristic is its naturalistic and scientific trend. Indian philosophy and Chinese philosophy both have been indigenous ; the distinctive feature of Indian philosophy is its religious and theosophical tendency and that of Chinese philosophy its ethical and humanistic outlook.

All the basic problems and the main branches of philosophy dealt with in European and Indian philosophies, such as metaphysics, ontology, cosmology, epistemology, the so-called "philosophy proper" ; and logic, ethics, aesthetics, the so-called "philosophical sciences" ; have been duly discussed by the Chinese philosophers. But the methods and attitudes in dealing with philosophical problems and the processes of the development of Chinese philosophical thought are in certain respects quite different from those of European philosophy as well as those of Indian philosophy.

European philosophy is more linked with natural science, Indian philosophy with religion and Chinese philosophy with human life and society or humanity or humanism. In other words, European philosophy is essentially scientific, Indian philosophy religious, and

Chinese philosophy ethical. Another striking contrast is in their respective attitude towards Nature. The European attitude towards Nature is a process of conquest, the Indian a process of assimilation, while the Chinese attitude is a process of harmonization. Of course, there are also many similarities among them all. Obviously, there is more similarity between Indian and Chinese philosophies than between European and Indian or European and Chinese philosophies.

THE BEGINNING AND SOURCE OF CHINESE PHILOSOPHY

As Indian philosophy (including *Astika* and *Nastika*) begins with the four *Vedas*, especially the *Rig Veda*, Chinese philosophy begins with the six *Chings* or Canons, especially the “*Yi-Ching*” or the “*Book of Changes*”.

The “*Yi-Ching*” starts with sixty-four symbols called “**Kua**” or “*Diagrams*”. Each of these Diagrams consists of six straight lines, either broken or unbroken or both. They are therefore also termed by foreign scholars as “The sixty-four Hexagrams”. These sixty-four Hexagrams were made up of eight basic and simple symbols, each consisting of three straight lines, broken or unbroken, called “**Pa-Kua**” or “The Eight Trigrams”. These eight Trigrams may be shown as follows :

No.	Figure	Name	Significance
(1)		Ch'ien	Heaven
(2)		K'un	Earth
(3)		Chen	Thunder
(4)		Sun	Wind
(5)		K'an	Water
(6)		Li	Fire
(7)		Ken	Mountain
(8)		Tui	Marsh

The multiplication of these eight Trigrams by com:

binning each with one another eight times becomes sixty-four Hexagrams ($8 \times 8 = 64$) such as :

- | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|----------|--|----------------------------|
| (1)  | The P'i | Hexagram | { Ch'ien above
K'un below } | <i>Misfortune.</i> |
| (2)  | The T'ai | Hexagram | { K'un above
Ch'ien below } | <i>Fortune.</i> |
| (3)  | The Chi-Tsi | Hexagram | { K'an above
Li below } | <i>Accomplishment.</i> |
| (4)  | The Wei-Tsi | Hexagram | { Li above
K'an below } | <i>Non-accomplishment.</i> |

The creation of the eight Trigrams was traditionally attributed to the first ancient Emperor Fu-Hsi (2852-2738 B.C.?). The multiplication of the eight Trigrams into sixty-four Hexagrams was either done by Fu-Hsi himself or by his successor, the second ancient Emperor Sheng-Nung 2737-2698 B.C.?).

The lines of the sixty-four Hexagrams numbering 384 are called "**Yao**". They together with the Hexagrams symbolize and indicate: First, the "**T'ai-Chi**" or the "Great Ultimate", the One and Absolute Truth; secondly, the "**Liang Yi**" or the "Two Principles", namely, the "**Yang**" or the "Positive and Masculine Force", and the "**Yin**" or the "Negative and Feminine Force"; thirdly, the "**Szu-Hsiang**" or the "Four Emblems", namely, (1) the "**Old Yang**", (2) the "**Young Yang**", (3) the "**Old Yin**", and (4) the "**Young Yin**"; and lastly, the manifestation of the natural phenomena of the whole universe as well as the development of all human affairs. In other words, the Great Ultimate produced the Two Principles; the Two Principles, the Four Emblems; the Four Emblems, the Whole World. This showed the '**Tao**' or the "Way or Process of the Evolution of the Universe".

The sixty-four Hexagrams are immediately followed by two literary texts called "**Kua-T'zu**" or "Expressions of the Hexagrams", and "**Yao-T'zu**" or "Expressions of the Lines". The former gives the names and

definitions of all the Hexagrams ; the latter, the names and indications of the significance of each individual line of all the Hexagrams according to their positions and circumstances. The authorship of these two texts is still in dispute. The first text might have been done by Huang-Ti, the Yellow Emperor, (2697-2598 B.C.) ; and the second text by Wen-Wang, the father of the first Emperor named Wu-Wang of the Chou Dynasty (1222-255 B.C.). These two texts are similar to the *Samhitas* and *Brahmanas* of the *Rig Veda*.

Then came the "*Shih-Yi*" or "Ten Wings", termed by the Western scholars as "Appendices" or "Commentaries". They are : (1) "**T'uan-Chuang**", commentary on the Expressions of the Hexagrams ; (2) "**Hsiang-Chuang**", commentary of the Expressions of Lines of the Hexagrams ; (3) "**Hsi-Tz'u-Chuang**", commentary general or "The Great Appendix" as called by some Western scholars. The above three are each divided into two sections called the Upper and the Lower, and are therefore together reckoned to be six in number. (4) "**Wen-Yen**", special commentary on the first two Hexagrams (incomplete) ; (5) "**Shuo-Kua**", or discourse on the Eight Trigrams ; (6) "**Hsu-Kua**", or treatise on the Sequence of the Sixty-four Hexagrams ; (7) "**Tsa-Kua**", or treatise on the Hexagrams taken promiscuously. All these Commentaries were traditionally ascribed to Confucius, but in reality only the "**Hsi-Tz'u**" and "**Wen-Yen**" were done by him. The first two Commentaries should be ascribed rather to Chou-Kung, the Duke and brother of Wu-Wang (1222-1115 B.C.). The last three are works of Confucius' disciples or of even later scholars. All these Appendices expounded the mystery of the phenomena of nature and their relations to human life. These are similar to the *Aranyakas* and *Upanishads* of the *Vedas*.

The other five Chinese "*Chings*" or Canons are : (1) The "*Shu-Ching*" or the "Book of Documents",

containing a collection of speeches and exhortations of ancient kings and sages, mostly of a high moral tone. (2) The "*Shih-Ching*" or the "Book of Odes", a collection of ancient folk songs, religious odes, and dynastic hymns, mostly of social and political reflections. (3) The "*Li Ching*" or the "Book of Rites", containing three works: (a) The "*Chou-Li*" or "Rites of the Chou Dynasty"; (b) The "*Yi-Li*" or "Ceremony and Propriety"; (c) The "*Li-Chi*" or "Discourse on the Principles of Rites". (4) The "*Ch'un-Ch'iu*" or "The Spring and Autumn Annals", a chronicle of events with severely critical praises and condemnations by Confucius. (5) The "*Yueh-Ching*" or "Book of Music" which was lost long ago. All these books were collection works and had been once re-edited by Confucius. They dealt mostly with human life, conduct, relations, etc., and revealed a great deal of moral, social and political truth and philosophy.

All Chinese philosophies, of different schools and sects of thought, have their common root in these six Canons.

THE SCHOOLS OF CHINESE PHILOSOPHY

The period of the Chou Dynasty (1122-255 B.C.) was called the golden age of Chinese history. Progress and improvement were made in a most remarkable manner in all branches of human activity. The period was specially remarkable for its numerous thinkers and savants. We have only to remember that the great **Lao-Tzu**, **K'ung-Tzu** (Confucius), and **Mo-Tzu** belonged to this era, as well as **Meng-Tzu** (Mencius), **Chuang-Tzu**, **Hsun-Tzu**, **Han Fei-Tzu** and many others. It was indeed a happy coincidence that in India Lord Buddha, Lord Mahavira, and the founders of the six Orthodox Schools of Philosophy also belonged to this era, and that in Europe the three great Greek philosophers, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, belonged to this era too. It was

really a period of free thinking and learning, a real efflorescence of world philosophy.

In China, during this period, there developed a great number of schools of thought usually referred to as "Hundred Schools of Thoughts of the Masters" (*Chu-Tzu Pai-Chia*). But actually there had not been and could not be so many schools of Chinese thoughts or philosophies. The Chinese word '*Pai*' means 'hundred' as well as 'numerous'; and '*Chia*' means 'family' as well as 'School', and also 'Master'. Therefore '*Pai-Chia*' in the first case may mean 'numerous schools', and in the second case 'hundred masters'.

This term '*Pai-Chia*' was first mentioned in the last chapter of the book "*Chuang-Tzu*" under the caption "*Tien-Hsia P'ien*" or "Under Heaven". It says: "The hundred schools of masters of thoughts have gone and would not return." But at the same time it mentioned only sixteen names of Masters in eight groups including Chuang-Tzu himself, namely, (1) Mo-Ti, Ch'in-Ku-Li; (2) K'u Huo, Chi Ch'ih, Teng Ling-Tzu; (3) Sung Hsing, Yin Wen; (4) Peng Meng, T'ien P'ien, Shen Tao; (5) Kuan Yin, Lao Tan (Lao-Tzu); (6) Chuang Chou (Chuang-Tzu); (7) Hui Shih; (8) Huan T'uan, Kung Sun-Lung. In the sixth chapter of the book "*Hsun-Tzu*" under the caption "Denunciation of Twelve Masters" (*Fei-Shih-Erh-Tzu P'ien*), names of twelve masters grouped in six groups are mentioned and criticized, namely, (1) T'o Hsiao, Wei Mou; (2) Ch'en Chung, Shih Yu; (3) Mo Ti, Sung Hsing; (4) Shen Tao, T'ien P'ien; (5) Hui Shih, Teng Hsi; (6) Tzu-Szu, Meng K'o. Besides, it also named four other great personalities, Chung Ni (another name of Confucius) and his disciple Tzu-Kung, Emperor Shun and the great Yu, for praise and regarded them as the criterion of human thoughts and deeds. But in the "Records of Art and Literature" (*Yi-Wen-Chih*) of the "History of the Former Han Dynasty" (*Chien-Han-Shu*) it was said

that there were hundred and eighty-nine Masters of thought usually referred to as the Hundred Schools. They were then classified into six groups called "*Liu-Chia*" or "Six Schools" by Szu-Ma T'an (— ? -110 B.C.) in his treatise on "The Essential Ideas of the Six Schools" (*Lun Liu-Chia Yao-Chih*). The Six Schools are named as: (1) "*Yin-Yang-Chia*", (2) "*Ju-Chia*", (3) "*Mo-Chia*", (4) "*Ming-Chia*", (5) "*Fa-Chia*", and (6) "*Tao-Te-Chia*". Later on, Liu Hsin (46 B.C.-23 A.D.) added four more to these Six Schools. The additional four schools are: (1) "*Tsung-Heng-Chia*", (2) "*Tsa-Chia*", (3) "*Nung-Chia*", and (4) "*Hsiao-Shou-Chia*". There were then altogether ten ascertainable schools of Chinese philosophy before the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.-220 A.D.).

But strictly speaking, there were only six groups of masters of thought that could be really called schools of Chinese philosophy, and they are:

- (1) "*Ju-Chia*", The Confucianist School.
- (2) "*Tao-Chia*", The Taoist School.
- (3) "*Mo-Chia*", The Mohist School.
- (4) "*Fa-Chia*", The Legalist School.
- (5) "*Yin-Yang-Chia*", The Cosmologist School.
- (6) "*Ming-Chia*", The Logician School.

These Six Schools may be further grouped into three:

- (1) the Legalist School may be attached to the Confucianist School. This is similar to the *Mimansa-Vedanta* of Indian philosophy.
 - (2) The Cosmologist school may be attached to the Taoist school. This is similar to the *Sankhya-Yoga* of Indian philosophy.
 - (3) The Logician school may be attached to the Mohist school. This is similar to the *Nyaya-Vaisesika* of Indian philosophy.
- The other four schools added by Liu Hsin to Szu-Ma Tan's list as mentioned before:
- (1) "*Tsung-Heng-Chia*" or School of Diplomats,
 - (2) "*Tsa-Chia*" or School of Electics,
 - (3) "*Nung-Chia*" or School of Agrarianists,
 - (4) "*Hsiao-Shuo-Chia*" or

School of Story Tellers, are not important and have little to do with philosophy as such.

"JU-CHIA" OR THE CONFUCIANIST SCHOOL

The Chinese word 'Ju' actually means "learned scholar with perfect virtue" (*Tao-Hsueh Chih-Shih*). All learned and virtuous scholars can be called 'Ju'. Then why and how was it applied specially to the School of Confucianists, or rather how and why was the Confucianist School especially called "*Ju-Chia*"? This has never been explained satisfactorily. The answer may be, first, because Confucius (551-479 B.C.) was regarded as the first and greatest master of learning and virtue. Secondly, because it was Confucius who taught the common people learning and virtue which before were monopolized by the aristocratic ruling class. Thirdly, because Confucius and the Confucianists respected learning and virtue more than anything else.

In the book "*Lun-Yu*" or "Confucian Analects", the first word mentioned by Confucius was "*Hsueh*", meaning "to learn". The Master said: "To learn with a constant perseverance and application, is it not a pleasant thing?" (Book I, Chapter I). Then on a number of occasions Confucius spoke of or discussed learning and virtue with his disciples: "The Master said, 'At fifteen, I had my mind bent to learning. At thirty, I stood firm. At forty, I had no doubts. At fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven. At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth. At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing what was right.'" (Book II, Chapter 4). Again, "The Master said, 'In a hamlet of ten families, there may be found one honourable and sincere as I am, but not so fond of learning.'" (Book V, Chapter 27).

According to Confucius, learning and thought must go together. The Master said: "Learning without

thinking is labour lost ; thinking without learning is perilous." (Analects : Book II, Chapter 15.) Even thinking and learning together are still not enough ; they must be accompanied by action. In other words, learning and thought must be put into practice. In the book "*Chung-Yung*" or "The Doctrine of Golden Means", Confucius said : "There are requisite the extensive study of what is good, accurate inquiry about it, careful reflection on it, the clear discrimination of it, and the earnest practice of it." (Chapter 21.) In the "*Yi-Ching*" or "Book of Changes", the Master also said : "The superior man learns and accumulates the results of his learning ; puts questions and discriminates among those results ; dwells unanimously and unambitiously in what he had attained to ; and carries it into practice with benevolence." (Appendix IV, *Wen Yen* or Special Commentary on the First Hexagram.)

Virtue in Chinese is called "*Tao*" or "*Te*" or both "*Tao-Te*". There are a number of categories of virtues specially advocated and exhorted by Confucius and the Confucianists. The most important of these are the "*San-Ta-Te*" or "*San-Ta-Tao*", both meaning "Three Universally Binding Virtues", and the "*Wu-Chang*" or the "Five Constant Virtues". The former category is : (1) "*Chih*" or Wisdom, (2) "*Jen*" or Benevolence, (3) "*Yung*" or Courage. The latter : (1) "*Jen*"—Love, (2) "*Yi*"—Justice, (3) "*Li*"—Propriety, (4) "*Chih*"—Wisdom, (5) "*Hsin*"—Sincerity. These are again closely connected with learning. As Confucius said : "There is the love of being benevolent without the love of learning ; the beclouding here leads to dissipation of mind. There is the love of being sincere without the love of learning ; the beclouding here leads to an injurious disregard of consequence. There is the love of straightforwardness without the love of learning ; the beclouding here leads to rudeness. There is the love

of bravery without the love of learning ; the beclouding here leads to insubordination. There is the love of firmness without the love of learning ; the beclouding here leads to extravagant conduct." (Analects : Book XVII, Chapter 8.)

From the above we see that the Confucian ideas and thoughts are peculiarly ethical, moral, social and humanitarian. Confucius had purposely avoided certain abstruse problems. It was said in the *Confucian Analects* that the subjects on which the Master did not talk were :— (1) Strange things, (2) Supernatural power, (3) Things not in proper order, and (4) Spirits and deities. (Book VII, Chapter 20.) Once his disciple Chi-Lu asked about serving the spirits of the dead ; the Master said : "While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits?" Chi-Lu added : "I venture to ask about death." He was answered, "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?" (Book XI, Chapter 2.) Another disciple named Tzu-Kung once remarked : "The Master's personal displays of his principles and ordinary description of them may be heard. His discourse about man's nature, and the way of Heaven cannot be heard." (Book IV, Chapter 12) Confucius himself once said to Tzu-Kung : "I would prefer not speaking." Tzu-Kung said : "If you, Master, do not speak, what shall we, your disciples, have to record?" The Master said : "Does Heaven speak? The four seasons pursue their courses, and all things are continually being produced, but does Heaven say anything?" (Book XVII, Chapter 19.)

The supreme doctrine of Confucius is the cultivation of the goodness of man, the perfection of human relation, and the greatest happiness of the world based on perfect wisdom and perfect virtue. This has been summarized into three Chinese characters : (1) "*Chung*" similar to the Buddhist term "*Maitri*";

(2) "*Shu*", similar to the Buddhist term "*Karuna*"; and
(3) "*Jen*", the combination of both. Once Confucius said to his disciple Tseng T'san: "T'san, my doctrine is that of all all-pervading unity." Tseng T'san replied: "Yes." When the Master went out, the other disciples asked "What do his words mean?" Tseng T'san said: "The doctrine of our Master is nothing else but *Chung* and *Shu*—to be true to the principles of our nature and the benevolent exercise of them to others." (Analects: Book IV, Chapter 15.) On another occasion Confucius was asked by Tzu-Kung: "Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" The Master said: "Is not the word '*Shu*'? What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." (Book XV, Chapter 23.) Again, Confucius said: "The man of '*Jen*' wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others: wishing to aggrandize himself, he seeks also to aggrandize others." (Book VI, Chapter 28.) When his disciple Tzu-Lu asked what constituted the superior man, the Master said: "The cultivation of himself in reverential carefulness." "And is this all?" said Tzu-Lu. "He cultivates himself so as to give rest to others", was the reply. "And is this all?" Again asked Tzu-Lu. The Master said: "He cultivates himself so as to give rest to all the people." (Book XIV, Chapter 45.)

After Confucius, two other great figures of this school are Meng-Tzu or Mencius (371-289 B.C.) and Hsun-Tzu (about 289-238 B.C.) Prof. Fung Yu-Lan regards the former as the idealistic wing of Confucianism. (*A Short History of Chinese Philosophy*.) Both of them respected Confucius as the greatest master and the founder of this school and apparently followed his teachings. But they interpreted Confucius in different ways and from different points of view. The most salient difference between them is in regard to the theory of human nature. Mencius regarded human nature as

originally good. (*Meng-Tzu* : Book IIa, 6.) But Hsun-Tzu said : "The human nature is evil ; its goodness is acquired through training." (*Hsun-Tzu*, Chapter 23) But Confucius himself only once said : "By nature men are nearly alike ; by practice, they get to be wide apart." (*Analects*, Book XVII, Chapter 2.) Since then it has been one of the most controversial problems in Chinese philosophy.

"TAO-CHIA" OR THE TAOIST SCHOOL

'*Tao*' is the most significant, comprehensive, as well as mysterious word in Chinese language and literature. It means, sometimes, the absolute reality or the eternal truth ; sometimes, the ultimate aim or the supreme power of Nature ; sometimes, the manifestation or the process or the way of the evolution of the Universe ; and sometimes also doctrine and virtue. It is equivalent to three Sanskrit words,—'*Brahma*', '*Dharma*' and '*Marga*'. It has repeatedly appeared in almost all the Chinese scriptures, especially the philosophical words, and has been dealt with or applied by almost all the Masters of different schools in different aspects, to different things and in different ways. This school was especially entitled to the name of '*Tao*', because it has expounded the '*Tao*' more specially, more properly, and more profoundly than any other.

The greatest and most famous Master of the Taoist School is of course Lao-Tzu. He was actually the Founder of the Taoist philosophy but not the Taoist religion, both of which have been called Taoism and have been frequently confused by foreigners. (As a matter of fact, the Taoist religion is a quite different thing from the Taoist philosophy.)

Lao-Tzu regards '*Tao*' as the supreme soul of the universe, self-existent, absolute and eternal, from which all things emanate and to which all return. In the book "*Lao-Tzu*", named after him, or "*Tao-Te-Ching*"—the

Canon of Tao & Te, he said: "Tao begets One, One begets Two, Two begets Three, Three begets all things." (Chapter 42.) In another passage of the same book Lao-Tzu said: "All things in the world come into being from 'Yu' or 'Having'; and 'Yu' or 'Having' comes into being from 'Wu' or 'Non-Having!'" (Ch. 40.) Here 'Yu' or 'Having' means 'One'; and 'Wu' or 'Non-Having' means 'Tao'. Then, why is 'Tao' called "Wu" or 'Non-Having'? Because 'Tao' is something that is really inappreciable and inexpressible by name or word. Therefore Lao-Tzu said at the very beginning of the book: "The *Tao* that can be expressed by words is not the eternal *Tao*; the name that can be named is not the eternal name. The unnameable is the beginning of Heaven and Earth; the nameable is the mother of all things." (Ch. 1.) Again "There is something formlessly fashioned, that existed before Heaven and Earth; without sound, without substance, dependent on nothing, unchanging, all-pervading and unfailing. One may think of it as the mother of all things in the world. I do not know what is its true name, but call it '*Tao*' and forcibly name it '*Ta*' or the 'Great'. And '*Ta*' means passing on; passing on means going far away; going far away means returning." (Ch. 25).

According to Lao-Tzu, '*Tao*' is also the Maker of everything for everything, yet as if it makes nothing; the doer of everything for everything yet as if it does nothing. Lao-Tzu said: "*Tao* never does anything yet through it all things are done." (Ch. 37.) Again: "The great *Tao* drifts about. It may go this way or that. All things owe their existence to it, and it does not disown them. Its achievements are completed while it is nameless. Like a garment it covers all things and brings them up, but makes no claim to be master over them." (Ch. 34.) Again: "Such is the scope of the all-pervading Power that it alone can act through the *Tao*. For the *Tao* is a thing impalpable, incommensur-

able. Incommensurable, impalpable ; yet latent in it are forms. Impalpable, incommensurable ; yet within it are entities. Shadowy it is and dim, yet within it there is an essence. This essence is extremely pure, but none the less efficacious." (Ch. 21.) Again : "Tao gave them birth ; the Power of Tao reared them, made them grow, fostered them, harboured them, brewed for them. Made them grow, but not lay claim to them ; brewed for them, but never lean upon them ; be chief among them, but not manage them. This is called the Prime virtue." (Ch. 51.)

Men therefore should only follow the way of *Tao*, and not do things in any way against it. As Lao-Tzu said : "Men should exemplify the way of the Earth ; the Earth, the Heaven ; the Heaven, the *Tao* ; Tao, the Nature." (Ch. 25.) Here the word 'Nature' is however, not something above the *Tao* but the *Tao* itself. Arthur Waley has properly rendered it as 'Self-so'. (*The Way and Its Power* : p. 174). "Therefore the Sage relies on actionless activity, carries on wordless teaching." (Ch. 2.) "Ruling a large kingdom is indeed like cooking a small fish" (Ch. 60.) "The tree big as a man's embrace began as a tiny sprout. The tower nine storeys high began with a heap of earth. The journey of a thousand miles began with what under the feet. He who acts, harms ; he who grabs, lets slip. Therefore the sage does not act, and so does not harm ; does not grab, and so does not let slip." (Ch. 64.) "It was when the Great *Tao* declined that human kindness and morality arose. It was when intelligence and knowledge appeared that the Great Artifice began. It was when the six near ones were no longer at peace that there was talk of filial piety and parental tenderness. It was when the country was in disorder and chaos that we hear of loyal ministers." (Ch. 18) "After *Tao* was lost, then came the Virtue ; after virtue was lost, then came human kindness ; after human kindness was lost,

then came righteousness; after righteousness was lost, then came ritual. Now ritual is the mere husk of loyalty and promise-keeping, and is indeed the first step towards brawling. Fore-knowledge may be the flower of doctrine, but it is the beginning of folly. Therefore the full-grown man takes his stand upon the solid substance not the mere husk; upon the fruit, not the flower. So he rejects that and takes this." (Ch. 38.)

The second greatest Taoist master is Chuang Chou or Chuang-Tzu. (369-286 B.C.) He expounded the *Tao* Doctrine even more intensively and extensively than Lao-Tzu. He was also regarded as the greatest mystic of China. In the "Record of History" (*Shih Chi*) it was said: "His erudition was most varied, but his chief doctrines were based upon the sayings of Lao-Tzu. His writings, which run to over 100,000 words, are for the most part allegorical. His literary and dialectic skill was such that the best scholars of the age were unable to refute his destructive criticism of Confucian and Mohist schools. His teachings were like an overwhelming flood which spreads unchecked according to its own will, so that from rulers and ministers downward none could apply them to any practical use. King Wei of the Ch'u State (339-329 B.C.) hearing of his good name sent messengers to him, bearing costly gifts and inviting him to become Prime Minister. At this Chuang Chou smiled and said to the messengers: "A thousand *taels* of gold is valuable indeed, and to be Prime Minister is an honourable position. But have you never seen the sacrificial ox used for the suburban sacrifice? When after being fattened up for several years it is decked with embroidered trappings and led to the altar, would it not willingly then change place with some uncared-for pigling? Be gone! Defile me not! I would rather disport myself to my own enjoyment in the mire than be slave to the ruler of a state. I will never take office. Thus I shall remain free to follow my own inclinations'."

The fundamental idea of Chuang-Tzu is absolute equality and freedom for every being, and absolute unity or absolute Oneness of all beings. There should be no distinction such as 'good and bad', 'right and wrong', 'large and small', 'long and short', 'high and low', 'heavy and light', 'rich and poor', 'patrician and plebeian', 'old and young', 'beginning and end', 'life and death', etc. For all these are only relative terms created by men. In reality all are 'one and the same'. Because all beings come out from the same '*Tao*' and will return to the same '*Tao*'. The trouble with men is that when these things are once created, they see only the separation and difference but not the basic unity and oneness. This the cause of all prejudice and ignorance, struggle and strife, hatred and enmity, violence and cruelty, bondage and slavery, and many other evil things, which in turn cause every kind of pain and suffering. Until we abolish all these things there will be no true freedom and happiness in the world. Only those who could get rid themselves of all kinds of distinctions or discriminations could have real and absolute freedom and happiness. Such people Chuang-Tzu calls '*Chen-Jen*' meaning 'True Man', or '*Chih-Jen*' meaning 'Perfect Man', or '*Shen-Jen*' meaning 'Spiritual Man', or '*Sheng-Jen*' meaning 'Sage'.

On this 'True Man', 'Perfect Man', 'Spiritual Man' and 'Sage', Chuang-Tzu said: "The Perfect Man has no self; the Spiritual Man has no achievement; the Sage has no name." (*Hsiao-Yao-Yu-Pien: Chuang-Tzu: Ch. 1.*) And: "The True Man of old slept without dreaming and waked without anxiety. He ate without discrimination, and his breathing was deep." (*Ta-Tsung-Shih-P'ien: Chuang-Tzu. Ch. 6.*) Again: "The True Man of old knew neither to love life nor to hate death. Living, he felt no elation; dying, he offered no resistance. Unconsciously he went; unconsciously he came; that was all. He did not try purposely to forget what his beginning had been or to seek what his end would be. He receiv-

ed with delight anything that came to him and left without consciousness anything that he had forgotten. That is called not preferring the conscious mind to 'Tao', or supplementing Nature with man. Such is what we call the True Man." (Ibid.) Finally: "The Perfect Man is spirit-like. Were the great lakes burned up, he would not feel hot. Were the great rivers frozen hard, he would not feel cold. Were the mountains to be riven by thunder or the seas thrown into waves by a storm, he would not be frightened. Being such, he would mount upon the clouds, would ride on the sun and moon, and would thus wander at ease beyond the seas. Neither death nor life can affect him; how much less can the consideration of what is beneficial and what is harmful?" (*Ch'i-Wu-Lun-P'ien: Chuang-Tzu*, Ch. 2).

"MO-CHIA" OR THE MOHIST SCHOOL

"*Mo-Chia*" or the Mohist school was named after Mo-Ti or Mo-Tzu who was generally regarded as the founder of this school. Mo-Tzu was one of the most important figures in ancient Chinese history. From the warring States period down to the beginning of the Han dynasty his name was constantly linked with that of Confucius. According to the "*Mo-Tzu Nien-Piao*" or "Chronological Table of Mo-Tzu" made by the noted textual critic Sun Yi-Jang (1848-1956 A.D.) he lived from 468-376 B.C.

In many respects Mo-Tzu may be compared to the ancient Indian Mahavira Jaina and the modern Indian Mahatma Gandhi. Their life and doctrines are very similar. The most prominent tenets of Mo-Tzu are: "Universal love and Non-Violence", and absolute "Altruism and Asceticism" Mencius once remarked: "Mo-Tzu loves all men without discrimination. If by grinding his whole body from the crown to the heel he could have benefited the world, he would have done it." As ideas, "universal love and non-violence", altruism

and asceticism", had all existed prior to Mo-Tzu. But Mo-Tzu's great contribution to Chinese Philosophy was that he not only practised these ideas himself, but that he gave them a rational foundation and welded them into a unified philosophical system.

Mo-Tzu opposed not only the theories of Confucius and the Confucianist school but also the traditional practices and institutions. The Confucianists tried to be "Correct in righteousness, without considering whether profit would result: pure in their principles, without considering whether this would bring material return." (*Tung Chung-Shu: Ch'un-Ch'iu Fang-Lu*) But Mo-Tzu and the Mohists school, on the other hand, laid exclusive emphasis on "merit and profit". Mo-Tzu said. "The purpose of those who are virtuous lies in procuring benefits for the world and eliminating its calamities." (Mo-Tsu: Ch. 16. *Chien-Ai-P'ien*.) And: "Mutual love produces mutual profit." Again: "Love without partiality is that which will yield profit." "Common good arises from loving and profiting others." "One who loves others will be loved in return; one who profits others will be benefited by others." (*Ibid.*)

Now what are the calamities in the world? Mo-Tzu said: "Among all the current calamities, which are the most important? I say that the attack on the small states by the large ones, disturbance of the small houses by the large ones, oppression of the weak by the strong, misuse of the few by the many, deception of the simple by the cunning, disdain towards the humble by the honoured, these are the misfortunes in the world. Again the lack of kindness on the part of the ruler, the lack of loyalty on the part of ruled, of affection on the part of the father, and of filial piety on the part of the son: these are further calamities in the world. Also, the mutual injury and harm which the unscrupulous do to one another with weapons, poison, water and fire are still another calamity in the world." (*Ibid.*)

What is the cause of such chaos in the world? According to Mo-Tzu, it is the lack of love for another. He said: "A robber loves his own house but not that of the other; so he robs it to enrich his own house. A thief loves himself but not the other man; so he steals from the other man in order to benefit himself. A Minister of State loves his own family but not that of another man; so he disturbs another family for the advantage of his own family. All the princes love their own but not other countries, so they make attacks upon them, for the benefit of their own countries. . . . When the other man's house is looked upon as one's own house, who will steal? When the other man's interest is looked upon as one's own interest, who will offend? When the other man's family is looked upon as one's own family, who will violate it? When the other man's country is looked upon as one's own country, who will attack it?" (*Ibid*)

Another important doctrine of Mo-Tzu is his teaching against war. According to Mo-Tzu, the greatest crime is to attack a country. There should be no excuse for such action. In the chapter entitled "Condemnation of War". Mo-Tzu said: "If a man walks into another man's orchard and steals peaches and plums, he will not only incur the anger of the public, but also the punishment of the authorities. This is so because he had done injury to others for his own gain. If a man steals a dog, a pig, or a chicken, his offence is graver than entering an orchard to steal peaches and plums because he has done greater injury. The offence is graver and the crime of a higher degree. If a man breaks into a stable and steals an ox or a horse, then the offence is graver than stealing a dog, a pig, or a chicken because the injury done is greater. As an injury is greater, the offence is graver and the crime is of a higher degree. If a man kills an innocent man, steals his clothing and his spear and sword, his offence is graver than breaking into a stable and stealing an ox or a horse. The injury is

greater, the offence is graver, and the crime is of a higher degree. Any man of sense knows that it is wrong, knows that it is unrighteous. But when murder is committed in attacking a country, it is not considered wrong; it is applauded and called righteous. Can this be considered as knowing what is righteous and what is unrighteous? When one man kills another man it is considered unrighteous and he is punished by death. Then by the same sign when a man kills ten others, his crime will be ten times greater, and should be punished by death ten times. Similarly one who kills a hundred men should be punished a hundred times more heavily." (*Mo-Tzu: Fei-Kung-P'ien*).

This teaching of Mo-Tzu was actually an antidote to the current views of the relationship between the states of his time. It can be an antidote to the situation of the world even today.

Mo-Tzu's teachings and ideas are of course very lofty, and his own life and activities were true examples of them. But sometimes he went too far so that it was very difficult for the common people to follow him. Therefore it was said in *Chuang-Tzu*: "To show no extravagance for future generations, to show no wastefulness in the use of things, to make no display in measures and institutions, to keep themselves under the restraint of strict rules so as to be prepared for the emergencies of the world: such were some of the aspects of the way in ancient times. Mo-Ti and Ch'in Ku-Li (his disciple) heard of these and delighted in them. But in practicing them they went to extremes, and in following them they were too strict. They wrote an essay entitled "*Fei-Yueh*" (Against Music) and another entitled "*Chieh-Yung*" (Frugal Expenditure). There was to be no singing in life, no mourning garments at death. Mo-Tzu taught universal love and mutual benefit, and condemned war. His teachings excluded anger. He was fond of study and had wide learning. Some points in his teachings were

not different from those of others, whereas at other points he did not agree with the ancient kings" (*Chuang Tzu : T'ien-Hsia-P'ien.*)

And: "These objections do not suffice to overthrow Mo-Tzu's system. Yet though men sing, he condemns singing. Though men mourn, he condemns mourning. Though men enjoy music, he condemns music. Is this truly in accord with man's nature? He would have men toil through life, with a bare funeral at death. Such teaching is too barren. It would lead men into sorrow and lamentation. Its practice would be too difficult. I feel it cannot be regarded as the way of the Sage. It is contrary to human nature and would not be tolerated. Mo-Tzu himself might be able to do it, but what about the rest of the world? If one separates the rest of the world, one's position is far indeed from the Royal Way." (Ibid.)

Among the other Mohists only a few names need be given here: (1) Chin Ku-Li, (2) Sung Hsing, (3) Yin Wen, (4) K'u Hou, (5) Chi Ch'ih (6) Teng Ling-Tzu, as already mentioned before

THE OTHER THREE SCHOOLS

The other three schools, i.e., (A) the "*Fa-Chia*" or the Legalist school, (B) the "*Yin-Yang Chia*" or the Cosmological school, (C) the "*Ming-Chia*" or the Logician school, are not so prominent and important as the Confucianist, the Taoist and the Mohist schools. They can therefore be conveniently put together here.

(A) *The Legalist School*: Scholars usually trace the origin of this school to Kuan Chung (708-643 B.C.) and Tzu-Ch'an (543-522 B.C.). But the real figure in whom this school finds its culmination was Han Fei-Tzu (died in 233 B.C.). Another prominent representative of this school before Han Fei-Tzu was Shang Yang (died in 338 B.C.). The philosophy of the Legalist school is, strictly speaking, only a system of political theory which

freely absorbed the ideas and ideals of the Confucianists, the Taoists and the Mohists. But it is more related to the first than the latter two. Therefore it may be attached to the Confucianist school as I have said before. Notwithstanding all these correlations, the Legalist school differs from all the three schools specially in regard to politics, polity and law. The Confucianists held that the people should be governed by virtue and morality which were embodied in "*Li*", or propriety. The Taoists maintained that the less interference or action the better government. This is called the Rule of "*Wu-Wei*", having no activity or non-action. The Mohists took a middle path between these two positions but sided more with the Confucianists. The Legalists strongly contended that the people and the country should be ruled by law. Han Fei-Tzu said: "The government of the wise is based rather on the restraint of evils than on the virtuous dispositions of mankind. The criterion of virtuous conduct may appeal to very few, but the prohibition of evil is a universal standard. As the standard is set with reference to the majority rather than the minority, law instead of virtue is the criterion." (*Han Fei-Tzu: Hsien-Hsueh-P'ien.*) Han Fei-Tzu's definition of law is: "Law is that which is observed by the government as orders and regulations, and observed by the people as standards of reward and punishment. Reward lies in the obeying of law; punishment is meted out to those who disobey." (*Han Fei-Tzu: Ting-Fa-P'ien.*) The Legalists also classified the law as follows: "Law can be divided into four kinds: the unchangeable law which regulates the relationship of the emperor and his officers; the social law which helps to overcome differences in customs; the public law which metes out rewards and punishments; the commercial law which regulates the standards of measurements." (*Yin-Wen-Tzu: Ta-Tao-P'ien.*)

(B) *The cosmological school*: The philosophy of this school was based on the two cosmological principles,

namely "*Ying*" and "*Yang*". Hence the name "*Yin-Yang-Chia*" or the Cosmological school. As already mentioned, the term "*Yen*" and "*Yang*" first appeared in "*Yi-Ching*" or the "Book of Changes", and "*Yang*" means the positive and masculine principle or force, and "*Yin*" means the negative and feminine principle or force. These two together generated the whole universe. It was said in the "Great Appendix" of the "*Yi-Ching*": In the '*Yi*' there is the Great Ultimate which produced the Two Principles. The Two Principles produced the Four Emblematic Symbols, which again produced the Eight Trigrams. The Eight Trigrams served to determine the good and evil, and from this determination was produced the successful prosecution of the Great Task." Again: "One '*Yin*' and one '*Yang*' constitute what is called *Tao*. That which is perpetuated by it is good; that which is completed by it is the individual nature. The benevolent see it and call it benevolence. The wise see it and call it wisdom. The common people, acting daily according to it, yet have no knowledge of it." (*Yi-Hsi-Tzu*: Section I.) The theory of the principles in the "*Book of Changes*" was later on further analysed and developed into another theory of the "*Wu-Hsing*" or the "Five Elements" in the "*Book of Documents*". In the chapter "*Hung Fan*" or "Great Plan" it was said: "The first category of the 'Nine Categories' (*Chiu-Ch'ow*) is called the Five Elements. These are: first Water, second Fire, third Wood, fourth Metal, fifth Soil. The nature of Water is to moisten and descend; of Fire, to flame and ascend; of Wood, to be crooked and straight; of Metal, to yield and to be modified; of Soil to provide for sowing and reaping." (*Book of Documents*: Book IV, Ch. X.) This is very similar to the four "*Bhutas*" of the Carvaka school, also accepted by the other schools of Indian philosophy and to the four "Roots" of the philosophy of the Greek philosopher Empedocles (490-435 B.C.). These theories of "*Yin-*

Yang" and "*Wu-Hsing*" originated in the "*Book of Changes*" and in the "*Book of Documents*" were adopted and expounded by almost all Chinese philosophers, specially by the Confucianists and the Taoists. But the Cosmologists applied them to almost every aspect of human affairs in minutest detail. They tried to explain natural phenomena both in terms of time and space, and maintained that these phenomena are closely inter-related with human conduct. The so-called Cosmological school is actually more or less a mixture of Confucianist and Taoist schools with certain special emphasis upon the "Two Principles" of "*Yin and Yang*", as well as on the "Five Elements" or "*Wu-Hsing*". But it is more related to the Taoists rather than the Confucianists. Therefore, this school may be attached to the Taoist school. The only prominent master of this school is Chow Yen, who lived in the end of the Warring States period but the exact date is unknown.

(C) *The Logician School*: In Chinese it is called "*Ming-Chia*" literally meaning "School of Names". We use the term "Logicians" here because they are similar to the Logicians of Western philosophy. They are also called in Chinese "*P'ien-Che*" meaning "Debaters", in the sense of the ancient Greek Sophists or Dialecticians. The fundamental ideas of this school were already laid down by Confucius, Lao-Tzu, Mo-Tzu and specially by the Mohists. The Logicians only developed them into a definite system of philosophy. Therefore, they may be attached to the Mohist school as I have said before. The most important representatives of this school are: (1) Hui Shih (about 350-260 B.C.) and (2) Kung-Sun Lung (about 284-259 B.C.). Hui Shih's book "*Wan-Wu-Shuo*" or "*Discourse on Ten Thousand Matters*" was long lost. The authenticity of Kung-Sun Lung's work entitled "*Kung-Sun Lung-Tzu*" is doubtful. What we know of their theories are the "*Shih-Shih*" or "Ten problems" of Hui Shih, and the "*Erh-Shih-Yi-Shih*" or "Twenty-one

Problems" of Kung-Sun Lung and other Logicians, preserved in the chapter titled "*T'ien-Hsia-P'ien*" or "Under the Heaven" in the book "*Chuang-Tzu*" and also repeatedly quoted or mentioned in the works of their masters. The "Ten Problems" of Hui Shih are: (1) "The greatest has nothing beyond itself, and is called the Great One; the smallest has nothing within itself, and is called the Little One." (2) "That which has no thickness cannot be increased in thickness, yet in extent it may cover a thousand miles." (3) "The heavens are as low as the earth; mountains are on the same level as marshes." (4) "The sun at noon is the sun declining; the creature born is the creature dying." (5) "A great similarity differs from a little similarity. This is called the little similarity-and-difference. All things are in one way all similar, in another way all different. This is called the great similarity and difference." (6) "The South has no limit and has a limit." (7) "Going to the state of Yueh today and arrived there yesterday." (8) "Connected rings can be separated." (9) "I know the centre of the world; it is north of Yen and south of Yueh." (10) "Love all things equally; Heaven and Earth are one."

The "Twenty-one problems" of Kung-Sun Lung and other Logicians are: (1) "The egg has hairs." (2) "A fowl has three legs." (3) "*Yin* contains the whole world." (4) "A dog may be a sheep." (5) "The horse has eggs." (6) "The frog has a tail." (7) "Fire is not hot." (8) "Mountains produce mouths." (9) "Wheels do not touch the ground." (10) "Eyes do not see." (11) "*Chih* do not reach; things never come to an end." (12) "Tortoises are longer than snakes." (13) "T-squares are not square; Compasses cannot make circles." (14) "Chisels do not surround their handles." (15) "The shadow of a flying bird never moves." (16) "There are times when a darting arrow is neither in motion nor at rest." (16) "A puppy is not a dog." (18) "A brown

horse and a dark ox make three." (19) "A white dog is black." (20) "An orphan calf has never had mother." (21) "If a rod one foot in length is cut short every day by one half of its length, it will still have something left even after ten thousand generations."

These "Problems" are usually regarded as "Paradoxes." In truth, they are not paradoxes but really philosophical and scientific problems, metaphysical as well as phenomenal, ontological as well as cosmological, epistemo-logical as well as logical. They are all illustrations of the relativity of things in the world. The main points are these: (1) All divisions and distinctions of time and space are artificial and unreal. (2) All differences and discriminations of matters and affairs are superficial and relative and not absolute. (3) All things and beings are in reality one and the same. (4) Time, space and the universe are eternal, beginningless, endless and limitless. Therefore Hui Shih's conclusion is: "Love all things equally; Heaven and Earth are one."

CONCLUSION

This sketch of the different schools of Chinese philosophy will give a general idea of their tenets and theories. It is quite natural that all of them should have their own peculiar views and theories, opposed to one another. Yet they hold many in common, presenting a kind of diversity in unity and unity in diversity.

As the ultimate goal of all the different systems of Indian philosophy, including *Astika* and *Nastika*, is "*Mukti*" or "*Moksa*", or "Liberation" of Humanity, so the ultimate aim of the various schools of Chinese philosophy is "*Tsi-Shih*" or "Salvation" of the world. Both "Liberation" and "Salvation" are a state of "Perfection." "Perfection" is real "Happiness". Real "Happiness" is true "Peace", "Love", "Harmony", "Freedom", "Equality", and "Unity". All these things

should be and can be realized not in any other world, but in this world, here and now.

Therefore, all the different schools of Chinese philosophy lay great stress on human life and ethics. Ethics in Chinese has a very broad meaning. It deals not only with the relation between man and man, but also the relation between man and nature, and that between man and all other things in the world. According to Chinese philosophy, humanity is a life of harmonious collectivity and not of exclusive and contending individuality. The ultimate goal and aim of humanity must be to achieve the well-being of all mankind, neither the individual, nor the race, nor the state is to be the ultimate end.

In the "*Tuan-Chuang*" of "*Yi-Ching*" or "*Commentary on the Expression of the Hexagrams*" of the "*Book of Changes*", under "*Chien-Kua*" or the first Hexagram, it is said: "The way of *Chien* is to change and transform, so that everything obtains its correct nature and life; and then great peace and harmony are preserved in union. The result is what is advantageous and righteous and firm. Man appears aloft, high above all things, and the myriad states all enjoy tranquility and repose!"

In the first chapter of "*Shu-Ching*" or "*Book of Documents*", it is said: "To cultivate and illuminate the great virtue in order to endear and fraternise the nine clan relations. While the nine clan relations were endeared and fraternized, all the people would be pacified and enlightened. While all the people were pacified and enlightened, all the states in the world would be harmonized and united, and peace and tranquility would be maintained!"

The most popular Chinese classic "*Ta-Hsueh*" or "The Great Learning", originally a chapter of "*Li-Chi*" or "*Discourse on the Principles of Rites*", says at its very beginning: "The way of the Great Learning is to illuminate the illuminant Virtue; to renovate the

people; and to rest at the highest point of perfection." And: "The Ancients who wished to brighten the illustrious virtue in the world, first ordered well their states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their personalities. Wishing to cultivate their personalities, they first rectified their minds. Wishing to rectify their minds, they first purified their volitions. Wishing to purify their volitions, they first extended their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge depended upon the study of things. Things having been studied, knowledge became perfect. Knowledge being perfect, their volitions were then purified. Their volitions being purified their minds were then rectified. The minds being rectified, their personalities were then cultivated. Their personalities being cultivated, their families were then regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were then well ordered. Their states being well ordered, the whole world could then be maintained in perfect peace and tranquility!"

Another important Chinese Classic called "*Li-Yun*" "*The Way and Use of the Rites*", also a chapter of the "*Li-Chi*" or "*Discourse on the Principles of Rites*", says at the beginning, "In the progression of the Great Natural Process, the whole world is free and common to all. The wise and the able should be chosen to rule; faithfulness and peacefulness cultivated by and maintained among all. Man must not only love his own parents and endear his own children, but also endeavour to give to the aged rest and comfort, make the grown-ups work and serve, and help the young to grow in body and mind. The widower, the widow, the orphan, the bereft, the disabled and the sick should be offered proper treatment and carefully looked after. Every man has his duty, and every woman her place in the scheme of human life. Natural resources should be drawn out of the earth and utilized, but not necessarily for private

property; personal abilities should be exerted from the body and mind and exercised, but not necessarily for selfish purposes. Thus, there will be no chance for conspiracy and intrigue, nor rise of theft and robbery, and every home can be safe with open gates at night. This is called "Ta-Tung," or 'The Great Unity'!"

These ideas put forward thousands of years ago by the Chinese sages and philosophers are now being actually put into practice by both the New China and New India, although in different ways. Let us all pray for their success not only for the sake of the two countries and the two peoples but for the sake of the whole world and all mankind. And that will be the best argument and practical justification of Chinese philosophy which has been humanistic in the highest sense and always wanted that the "myriad states all enjoy tranquility and repose"

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from the point of view of antiquity, has claims to be considered as the site of Mahismati.

Situated 60 miles south of Indore in the district of Nimad on the northern bank of the Narmada, it controlled the traffic from the north to south throughout the historical and prehistorical period. Even now, after the railway and the Grand Trunk Road at Khalghat, the daily traffic is not inconsiderable. Large flat-bottomed boats carry entire carts—bullocks and all—across the river in a few minutes. Even the great Akbar used this crossing for his invasion of Asirgadh in 1600 A.D., while the Buddhist Bhikshus who tramped up and down from Paithan to Ujjain and beyond had built *stupas* near and around, at Kasrawad three miles south and at Navdatoli, opposite Maheshwar. Even as recently as 1760 A.D. Ahalyabai, queen of the Holkar family of Indore, had made it her capital. A part of the early Muslim fort was turned into a magnificent temple and the river front was adorned with ghats. Her example was followed by her nobles and the whole area is studded with ghats, temples and samadhis (memorials).

But all these Maheshwars—those of Ahalyabai, Akbar, Muslim kings of Mandu (14th-16th century), the Paramaras (6th-7th century), and the Kalachuris (6th-7th century)—were built on the debris of the much earlier cities. The ruins of these—bricks, wells, pots, silver and copper punch-marked coins—had been brought to light as far back as 1822. Then in 1947 were found tiny stone tools called “microliths”, and broken pieces of clay vessels (potsherds), which from our experience were known to be very, very old.

While at Maheshwar these lay nearly 50 feet below the present surface of the mounds, on the southern banks exactly opposite, at the hamlet called Navdatodi (or toli),—after the boatmen who live there and ferry the passengers and their cargo to and

from—such microliths and potsherds were found in thousands right on the surface. Thus ample clues were available for a preliminary excavation.

In the first season of 1952-53, the Joint Expedition from the Deccan College, the Baroda University and Madhya Bharat University dug at three mounds at Maheshwar and three mounds at Navdatoli. Removing layer after layer of remains of stone, brick and mud houses at Maheshwar, we reached a depth of nearly 50 ft. Here were found traces of pottery and coins which were in use 2,400 years ago. On the southern bank, at Navdatoli, we had not to dig very deep. Here the objects which were found at Maheshwar at such depth were found on the top, in the ruins of a Buddhist stupa. And below this Buddhist stupa were found large quantities of painted pottery and tiny stone tools. The situation was exactly as at Mohenjodaro where in 1921 houses of small brick, painted pottery and seals were noticed underneath a Buddhist stupa. One thing was definite then, that the painted pottery at Navdatoli as well as at Maheshwar was of definitely much earlier date. Provisionally we dated it at 1,000 B.C.

Now in this pottery we noticed certain designs—men and women dancing—and the fragment of a vessel of peculiar shape. It had a spout. But this was open or cut, as is an open drain. Nowhere in India had a vessel with such a spout been found before. But exactly identical vessels had been found at Sialk and Giyan and Shah Tepe in Iran. Those from Sialk are dated between 1,200 B.C.-800 B.C., and at Shah Tepe they are earlier.

We found many such objects, which give an insight into the life and history of the people at Maheshwar from 1,000 B.C. to 1,800 A.D., that is for nearly 3,800 years. But what interested me most was the identity of the people who made the painted pottery. Were they Aryans or Haihayas, as the Puranas tell us—

or the still earlier Nagas who were the first residents of the Narmada valley? How did the cup or bowl with Iranian affinity come to Maheshwar in about 1,000 B.C.?

It was decided to attempt a solution of these problems by large scale excavations at Navdatoli. Here we found mounds of which one is quite intact. As mentioned earlier, we did not have to dig very deep. People had left Navdatoli some 2,000 years ago owing to floods and so the mounds are not as high as at Maheshwar. What we wanted could be had within 10 to 15 feet of digging. Such total excavation was the first of its kind in India. It tells us a fairly complete story—when was it first inhabited, what was its area, the nature of the houses, the food habits of the people, the vessels in which they ate and drank, their ornaments and tools and weapons, their contacts within India and outside India. Only one thing still eludes us, the identity of the first inhabitants at Navdatoli and Maheshwar. Very interesting clues are now available which, if followed up, will help to bring to a successful end this most unusual detective story.

The first colony grew up on what are now the four mounds at Navdatoli some 4,000 years ago. The total area it covered was something like four square furlongs. It was fairly wooded, and the river Narmada flowed by not so far away as at present.

From the very beginning the inhabitants built round and square or rectangular huts. These houses were raised on thick wooden posts. Around these were put bamboo screens, which were then plastered with clay from outside and inside. The floor was also made of clay mixed with cowdung. Both were then given a thin coating of lime so that the houses when first built must have looked spick and span. The size of the largest rectangular room was 20 ft. by 40 ft. A circular hut was sometimes only three to four feet in diameter

and it is doubtful if it was meant for habitation. It might have been used for storing grains, etc. (as the writer recently saw in a village in Kurnool, Andhra Pradesh). The houses were built very close to each other. For every four or five houses, it appears there was an open space, like a *Chowk*.

These houses were furnished with small and large earthen pots for storing, cooking and drinking. The large storage jars were strong and sturdy, but generally decorated with an engraving along the neck. But what surprises and delights the eye is their "table service", or dinner set. It is this which distinguishes these early Navdatolians from the modern primitive Santals and other tribes in Chota Nagpur, for instance :

"There are not more than a dozen habitations all told, clustering together as if for company in the midst of the surrounding loneliness, and so closely and irregularly built that one can scarce tell where the one begins and the other ends. They are the most lightly constructed of buildings possible, nothing but wattle and earth, sal stakes planted firmly in the ground, interlaced with light bamboos and covered liberally with mud. Generally the roof is of thatch, but sometimes tiled with the *kapra* (native tiles) of which the potter, busy at his wheel, seems to be always making ready an inexhaustible supply. All the houses are small, the largest of them not more than fourteen feet square by eight feet high, and windows there are none, only an open verandah on one side, giving access to the rooms within."

Like the houses at Navdatoli, the Santal huts have their walls whitewashed. *But unlike them, the Santals can boast of only very simple earthen pots, besides a few of brass, and the most primitive of fire-places—a hole dug in the ground.* Add to this the fact that the Santals know only rice among the grains and are therefore

mostly hunters and collectors of food and we have a perfect contrast between a civilized and primitive people.

The Navdatolians had a large number of dishes and bowls of various sizes and painted in almost infinite designs with black paint over a red or brown background. Amongst these, the vessels which catch attention are cups with high or low stands. Their shape and size remind us of the wine cups of today. Such wine cups are absolutely unknown during the historical period in India, beginning with the 6th century B.C., but appear in our social life wherever there was contact with Iran. These may be seen in the paintings at Ajanta and in the miniature paintings of the Mughals.

From the beginning of the settlement in about 1,800 B.C. until 1,500 B.C., these fashions continued. Then there was widespread destruction by fire. Though the houses and most of the pottery continued to be made as before, a new style of cup was introduced which has been described. We call it a 'channel-spouted' bowl. Its use must have been ceremonial as in a sacrifice. Since such a vessel is to be found only in Iran, newcomers might have brought this style from that country.

Besides this important change in pottery, there was another very significant change in the life of the people. For the first couple of hundred years, the inhabitants ate principally wheat. But now other grains—rice, lentil (*masur*), *mung*, peas, a kind of beans and *tivada* or *kulthi*—formed the regular diet of the people. Linseed, found for the first time in India, was probably used for extracting oil. These are the cereals, pulses and industrial plants which are grown, eaten and used in the Nimad District today. Our discovery, the first of its kind in India, shows that the food habits of a section of the people in Madhya Pradesh are at least 3,500 years old. Though wheat was known before at

Mohenjodaro, these are some of the earliest examples of rice, *masur*, *mung*, *kulthi* and beans as also linseed. And though we do not know how these grains were cultivated, for no ploughs have been found, a number of heavy stone rings which have been discovered might have been used as weights for digging sticks, as some primitive people still do in Orissa. Still it is obvious that a people who ate so many types of grains, and had such a variety of pots and pans, indicating varied needs and uses, were not so primitive as some tribes today.

The stocks of grain were probably cut with sickles set with stone teeth: thousands of such stone tools have been found. The grain was ground into flour in deep, basin-shaped stone *patas*, called querns in English, with the help of a pounder or rubber. A number of these were found, as they were left by their users right on the kitchen floor near *chulahs* or hearths. The latter again were quite large—made with clay and thinly plastered with lime.

Economically, therefore, the early inhabitants of Navdatoli were fairly well off. They were essentially farmers or peasants. They did not yet know iron; copper they used, but sparingly in the shape of simple handleless axes, fish-hooks, pins and rings. For their daily needs—cutting vegetables, scraping leather and piercing stone—they had to rely upon stone tools; their blades are so small that we call them microliths. These were hafted in bone and wooden handles, as we nowadays fix an iron blade into a penknife. Among ornaments, there were thousands of beads of sand coated with a glaze and called faience, of chalk and a few of semi-precious stones such as agate and carnelian. These must have been strung into necklaces. Bangles and rings were also worn. These were of clay and copper.

These earliest farmers in Madhya Pradesh lived, as we know from a series of seven Carbon-14 dates—kindly

supplied by the Pennsylvania University—about 1,800 B.C. and continued to live on with three major destructions by fire at least upto 700 B.C., when an iron-using people from Ujjain and possibly further North wiped them out of existence and laid the foundation of a new economy in which iron, minted money, houses of bricks and altogether a new pottery played a dominant part.

Who the first dwellers were, whose remains are found all over Malwa, is not yet resolved. Probably they were a people from Iran, if their pottery is a clue. In that case, they might be a branch of the Aryans. This trail is to be followed up by further detective work across India and Pakistan upto Eastern Iran.

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA AND ITS CRITICAL EDITION

R.N. DANDEKAR

It is generally believed that the Veda has made the most significant contribution to the moulding of the Indian way of life and thought, through the ages. As a matter of fact, ancient Indian culture or, more precisely, the Hindu culture, as a whole, is not infrequently characterised as the Vedic culture. A critical analysis of the Hindu way of life and thought would, however, expose the inadequacy of such characterisation. The principal gods of the Vedic pantheon, like Indra and Varuṇa, are now rarely worshipped. The elaborate system of sacrifice, which had been evolved and consolidated during the *Brāhmaṇa*-period and resuscitated and reorganised during the *Sūtra*-period, and which had come to be recognised almost as the hall-mark of Vedic religion, has now been almost entirely relegated to the background. The philosophical speculations of the *Upaniṣads* have either undergone vital modifications or have been superseded by other systems of thought. In short, the values sponsored by the Veda have long since ceased to operate as the essential motive force of the Indian *Weltanschauung*. It is not the Brahmanism of the Veda but popular Hinduism—which traditionally claims to have derived its inspiration from the Veda but which, historically speaking, has assimilated within itself perhaps more non-Vedic elements than the Vedic ones—that dominates the socio-religious life of India. And the literary works which have left an abiding imprint on the socio-religious life sponsored by Hinduism are not so much the Vedas as the popular epics. Even among these popular epics, if there is any one single work which has proved to be a factor of inestimable import in the making of the life and thought of the Indian people and which still continues to be a living force in Indian life, it is the *Mahābhārata*, the great national epic of India.

The *Mahābhārata* is, indeed, a unique phenomenon in the literary history not only of India but of the whole world. For one thing this epic, which consists of 100,000 stanzas, is the biggest single literary work known to man. It is eight times as big as Homer's *Illiad* and *Odyssy* put together. But it is not only its size which entitles the *Mahābhārata* to the claim of uniqueness. Its contents too are unique in many respects. Even a casual reader of the *Mahābhārata* would be struck by its truly encyclopaedic character. The *Mahābhārata* constitutes a dynamic record of an extensive period of India's history—a record which is prepared by poets who possessed a marvellous insight into the lives of men and women

belonging to all strata of society. It is well and truly said that in *Mahābhārata* breathe the united soul of India and the individual souls of her people. But the appeal of the *Mahābhārata* is not merely Indian or national; it is essentially human or universal. As the author of the epic justifiably claims:

धर्मं चार्थं च कामे च मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ ।
dharme cā 'rthe ca kāmie ca mokṣe ca bharatarṣabha

यदिहास्ति तदन्यत्र यन्नेहास्ति न तत्त्वचित् ॥
yad iḥā 'sti tad anyatra yan ne 'hā 'sti na tat kvacit

In matters relating to religion and ethics, to material progress and prosperity, to the enjoyment of the pleasures of personal and social life and to spiritual emancipation, whatever is embodied in this epic may be found elsewhere; but what is not found here it will be impossible to find anywhere else. It will not, indeed, be an exaggeration to say that there is hardly any human thought or sentiment which has not found expression in the *Mahābhārata*; there is hardly any situation conceivable in human life which has not been portrayed in it.

How did this unique work—vast in extent, encyclopaedic in content, and universal in appeal—come into being? *Prima facie*, the *Mahābhārata* does not appear to have been the creation of one author or even of one generation of authors. It must have been the outcome of a long and continuous literary activity spread over many centuries. Scholars like **Dahlmann**, however, believe that the *Mahābhārata* is a unified work, that in it two elements—the epic and the didactic—have been artistically welded together and that this welding together has been accomplished by a single inspired poet. More or less similar views have been put forth by **Sorensen**, **Barth**, and **Sylvain Levi**. **Oldenburg**, on the other hand, has characterised all such attempts at discovering in the *Mahābhārata* a unified work—justifiably but rather in strong terms—as constituting 'scientific monstrosity'. He, therefore, advocated the analytical method as the only sound method for the study of the epic. An analytical approach inevitably leads one to the assumption that, through the centuries, the epic has been subjected to several revisions and redactions involving numerous variations, additions, and omissions. This process of constant revision and redaction of the epic has, however, been represented differently by different scholars. **Adolf Holtzmann**, for instance, suggested that in its original form the epic was a poem in which the Kauravas were the heroes. Later on, however, on account of changed historical circumstances the epic was, as it were, set upon its head. It was subjected to a

process of tendentious inversion, with the result that the Kauravas, who were the righteous party in the original epic, now came to be represented as the villains, while the Pāṇḍavas, with all their unchivalrous ways, were made the heroes. It is obviously not possible here to examine Holtzmann's views at any great length. Suffice it to say that this and similar other theories have to be regarded as being more ingenious than convincing.

Let me briefly state my own view regarding the origin and the growth of the *Mahābhārata*. A critical student of ancient Indian literature knows that in the earliest period of the literary history of India there developed, side by side, two distinct literary traditions, which for the sake of convenience I have chosen to call the *sūta*-tradition and the *mantra*-tradition. Broadly speaking, the *mantra*-tradition related to religious thought and practice while the *sūta*-tradition related to secular matters and the doings of human heroes. The *mantra*-tradition consisted of prayers and magical incantations and the ritual formulas and mystic speculations of the ancient Vedic Indians, while the *sūta*-tradition comprised a large amount of popular, bardic, legendary, and historical material. It may be safely presumed that, in the initial stages, both these traditions were fluid in character. In course of time, however, the very nature of the *mantra*-tradition made it imperative that its contents should be properly organised and given a fixed literary form. The early literary monuments belonging to the *mantra*-tradition have been preserved for us in the form of the Vedic literature. The *sūta*-tradition, on the other hand, continued to remain in fluid and floating condition. No doubt some of its elements had inevitably crept into the *mantra*-tradition and had been reduced to a fixed literary form. Accordingly, in the Vedic literature also we come across such sautic material as the *dāna-stutis* and the *gāthās*, and the *pāriplavas* and the *nārāśamsīs*. But, by and large, the *sūta*-tradition continued to remain fluid for a pretty long time, presumably because there had not been in existence any central motif or any adequate literary nucleus which could have served as a unifying factor for its many and varied elements.

Such a literary nucleus, however, soon offered itself in the form of a bardic-historical poem relating to the Bhārata war. The antecedents of this war are too well known to need recounting. As the result of the famous Vedic battle of the ten kings, the clan of the Bharatas had attained a kind of sovereignty over the other contemporary states and principalities, both Aryan and non-Aryan. The scions of this great clan continued to dominate politically a major part of Northern India almost unchallenged until some time between the 17th and the 15th centuries B.C. About that time, there arose

among these scions of the Kuru-Bharatas what originally had been a kind of domestic feud but what soon developed into a national crisis—in the form of the great war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. It was but natural that an event of such great magnitude and national significance should have stirred the imagination of the bards of that time. Numerous ballads and songs must have been produced by the bards patronised both by the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas—the same episodes in the conflict being described in some ballads with the Kaurava bias and in others with the Pāṇḍava bias. After the dust raised by this national catastrophe had settled down and a comparatively more peaceful era had been ushered in, all these ballads must have come to be welded together into a single unified literary work with a common central motif, namely the victory of the Pāṇḍavas over the Kauravas. In the course of this process of literary unification, efforts must have naturally been made to revise many of the older ballads so as to bring them in line with the general trend of the glorification of the victors though, as may be easily realised, the result of such tendentious revision could not have been other than superficial. It may also be presumed that, in redacting these ballads, many ancient bardic and legendary elements were grafted upon the historical elements relating to the Bhārata war. It was but to be expected that, in many cases, this operation substantially changed the original complexion of personalities and events. But with all this, it must be conceded that the central theme was never lost sight of in this redaction and, ultimately, a homogeneous literary work, with a more or less fixed literary form, was brought into being. This work claimed to constitute a historical poem with its central theme developed through the three stages of *bheda* (dissension), *rājyavināśa* (loss of the kingdom), and *jaya* (victory):

एवमेतद्युगवृत्त तेषामविलम्बकारिणाम् ।

evam etat purāvṛttam teṣām akliṣṭakāriṇam

भेदो राज्यविनाशश्च जयञ्च जयता वर ॥

bheda rājyavināśaś ca jayas' ca jayataṁ vara

This historical epic poem, which dealt with the Bhārata war and which was very aptly called *Jaya*, must indeed be regarded as the first literary monument (in the restricted sense of the term) belonging to the *sūta*-tradition. It was this poem which must have facilitated, to a great extent, the crystallisation of further sautic material. For, once a literary nucleus was created, it was easy to rally round its various other elements of the fluid *sūta*-tradition. Accordingly, many ancient bardic lays—more particularly those which celebrated the exploits of the Bhārata clan—must have been added to the *Jaya* in

such a manner that they soon came to form an integral part of that historical poem. While more and more such material belonging to the *sūta*-tradition was becoming consolidated, the historical poem *Jaya* was being gradually transformed into the epic *Bhārata*.

But such transformation of the *Jaya* into the *Bhārata* seems to have received perhaps a stronger impetus from other quarters. From very early times there had existed in India, side by side with the hieratic Vedic religion, several popular tribal religions. The gods and goddesses of these tribal people were different from the divinities of the official Vedic pantheon. Their religious practices also differed fundamentally from the religious practices of the Vedic Aryans. Indeed, these tribal religions have to be regarded as being definitely non-Vedic in provenance and character. It is even possible to discover their beginnings in the ideology of the pre-Vedic indigenous population of India. From this point of view at least, they were more akin to the heterodox religions. But there was one point of essential difference between these two. These popular tribal religions soon came under the spell of Vedism. And, though they did not actually adopt the ideology and practices of Vedism in any appreciable measure, they followed the very practical and realistic course of avowing allegiance to the Veda—howsoever nominal and superficial that allegiance might have proved to be in actual practice. Naturally enough, while Vedism had been in ascendancy, the sphere of influence of these popular religions was restricted to the respective tribes among whom they had originated. But the decline of Vedism afforded them an opportunity to assert themselves. It would, indeed, seem that the rear-guards of Vedism had encouraged these popular religions to a certain extent. For, they must have soon realised that the challenge of the heterodox movements could not be effectively met by mere revivalist efforts. A common popular front was required to be presented against them. Consequently, most of the popular religions, with their variety of gods and religious practices came to be organised into one single but multi-charactered whole, which was held together by means of the thin thread of allegiance to the Veda. This is the genesis of Hinduism. One very significant constituent of this all-inclusive Hinduism was Kṛṣṇaism. This religion seems to have originated and spread among the tribes of Western and Central India like the Vṛṣṇis, the Sātvatas, the Ābhīras and the Yādavas.

The rise of Kṛṣṇaism on the religious horizon of ancient India synchronised with the partially accomplished process of enlarging the bardic-historical poem *Jaya* into the epic *Bhārata*. This newly created literary monument belonging to the *sūta*-tradition had instant-

ly caught the imagination of the people. What wonder then that the practical-minded sponsors of Kṛṣṇaism should have thought of employing this popular epic as a vehicle for propagating their religious teaching? They, accordingly, redacted the partially completed epic *Bhārata* in such a way as to make it serve their own purpose. They started by associating the heroes of the epic, the Pāṇḍavas, with Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa came to be represented as a close relative of the Pāṇḍavas, indeed as their guide, friend and philosopher. Actually he became the central figure of the epic, the pivot round which all persons and events in the epic revolved. All credit is, indeed, due to the remarkable ingenuity and resourcefulness of the Kṛṣṇite redactors, who brought about these basic changes in the older epic in such a manner as not to give any cause for even a faint suspicion that the character of Kṛṣṇa was really extraneous to the original epic. Of course, the real cornerstone of this Kṛṣṇite superstructure was the *Bhagavadgītā*. The *Bhagavadgītā* epitomises the religious, ethical, and philosophical teachings of Kṛṣṇa, and the Kṛṣṇite redactors of the epic must be said to have conceived a very dramatic back-ground and form for it.

Broadly speaking, the epic *Bhārata* is thus the result of the operation of two processes on the historical poem *Jaya*, namely, of the process of bardic enlargement and that of Kṛṣṇite redaction. The heroes of this historical poem were Kṣatriyas; the large amount of bardic and legendary material which came to be added to that poem is also mostly related to Kṣatriya warriors; even the religious teachings and ethical code which came to be propagated through the epic were derived from non-Brahmanic sources. In the religious history of India, two movements, originating in two distinct ideologies, seem to have been jointly responsible for stemming the advance of heterodox systems of thought, which had strengthened their position during the interregnum following the Upaniṣadic period. They were the *sūtra-vedāṅga* Brahmanism and the Kṛṣṇite Hinduism. By its very nature, however, it was the latter which held the field after the decline of heterodox religions. But once the danger of the avowedly anti-Brahmanic religions was past, the sponsors of Brahmanism again began gradually to assert themselves. They knew that, though Kṛṣṇaism represented, in some respects, a definite reaction against Brahmanism, it was not avowedly anti-Brahmanic. It was, therefore, possible to bring about a workable compromise between Brahmanism and Kṛṣṇaism. The sponsors of Brahmanism accordingly attempted to brahmanise, so to say, the popular religion of Kṛṣṇa as far as it was feasible to do so. Indeed, they attempted thus to brahmanise several minor popular religious sects. So far as

Kṛṣṇaism was concerned, the sponsors of Brahmanism seem to have started their brahmanising operation with the epic *Bhārata* which had, by then, almost come to be regarded as an authentic Kṛṣṇite document. They introduced in the epic—sometimes in place but more often, out of place—a large amount of material relating to Brahmanic learning and culture. Whole tracts dealing with Brahmanic religion and philosophy, law and ethics, cosmology and mysticism and social and political theories found their way into the epic. In most of these legends, the heroes of the epic came to be represented as the defenders of Brahmanic faith and culture. In this context, it may be incidentally pointed out that, in comparison with the methods of Kṛṣṇite redactors, those of the Brahmanic redactors were obviously gross. As a matter of fact, the activity of the sponsors of Brahmanism ought to be described not as artistic redaction but as flagrant interpolation. The elements relating to Brahmanic *dharma* and *nīti* were thus superimposed upon the bardic-historical elements derived from the *sūta*-tradition and the religio-ethical elements derived from Kṛṣṇaism—and eventually the *Bhārata* was transformed into the *Mahābhārata*.

The transmission of the *Mahābhārata* (or the *Śatasāhasrī Samhitā*) has been characterised by a truly bewildering mass of versions and subversions. Indeed, no other work illustrates the dictum, "as many manuscripts so many texts", more aptly than the great epic. This phenomenon of luxuriant growth and indiscriminate fusion of versions can be explained only on the assumption that after its composition the *Mahābhārata* had, in the course of all these centuries, been handed down in different forms and sizes from bard to bard through oral tradition and that, therefore, no special care had been taken to guard its text against partial corruption and elaboration or against arbitrary emendation and normalization. This state of things must have continued even after the text of the epic had been reduced to writing. The epic itself seems to bear testimony to this process for, while referring to the five direct pupils of Vyāsa namely, Sumantu, Jaimini, Paila, Śuka and Vaiśampāyana, it says:

संहितास्तैः पृथक्त्वेन भारतस्य प्रकाशिताः ।

Samhitās taiḥ prthakṭvena bhāratasya prakāś'itāḥ.

Accordingly, even in its early phases, the *Mahābhārata* text-tradition had been not uniform and singular but multiple and polygenous. And this is, indeed, what is to be expected of a work which has proved to be a vital force in the life of a progressive people. The numerous variants, additions and omissions which distinguish the various versions of the *Mahābhārata* are indicative of the dynamic

character of the epic. They emphasise the fact that the *Mahābhārata* had been organically related to the life of the people as a book of constant inspiration and guidance.

But it was also natural that, with the advance of scientific Indology which had become evident in India and outside in the course of the past hundred years, the need should have been felt for a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. The credit for first voicing this need, in more or less clear terms, goes to Winternitz who, in his paper presented before the 11th International Congress of Orientalists held at Paris in 1897, laid special stress on this desideratum of a critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* "as the only sound basis for all *Mahābhārata* studies, nay, for all studies connected with the epic literature of India." There were, no doubt, available in India several printed editions of the epic. The *Mahābhārata* was first published at Calcutta, in four volumes, during the years 1834-39. This was followed in 1862 by the well-known *pothee* edition lithographed in Bombay by Ganpat Krishnaji, who issued the same in printed form in the following year. In South India, there had been current a text of the epic which differed substantially from the texts of the Calcutta and Bombay editions. All these editions were, however, sadly deficient from the critical scholar's point of view, for they either merely reproduced the version of a particular type of manuscript or else were eclectic on no recognizable principles and, therefore, failed to remove the uncertainty of the text. Winternitz, who was convinced that a "critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* was a *sine quā nō* for all historical and critical research regarding the great epic of India", persisted in his efforts, as the result of which the International Union of Academies resolved in 1904 to undertake the preparation of such an edition. Funds were raised for the purpose, and a specimen of the edition prepared by Luders was actually published for private circulation among scholars. But then came the first world war which interrupted all scholarly work in the West. However, soon after the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute was founded in 1917, its workers, in their youthful enthusiasm, decided to venture upon the critical edition, making a fresh start. Accordingly, in April 1919, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar formally inaugurated the work by writing on the collation sheet the first stanza of the epic:

नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।
nārāyaṇam namaskṛtya naram caiva narottamam.

देवी सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥
devīm sarasvatīm caiva tato jayam udīrayet.

Ever since the time when the question of the critical edition of

the *Mahābhārata* was first mooted, it had been clearly realised that, on account of the peculiar manner in which the epic had been transmitted through the centuries, it was not possible to apply to it the special canons of textual criticism which were derived from a study of classical (Greek and Latin) texts and which depended ultimately upon there being a more or less complete concatenation of copies and exemplars reaching finally back to a single authentic written archetype. It was, therefore, necessary to tackle the problem of the *Mahābhārata* textual criticism in a different manner. The method of the *Mahābhārata* textual criticism had to be evolved only from a special study of the *Mahābhārata* manuscripts and of the peculiar conditions of the transmission of the text of the epic. And such a study made it clear, almost at the very beginning, that an eclectic but cautious utilization of all manuscript classes was the only method which could be fruitfully employed in respect of the *Mahābhārata*. Since all categories of manuscripts had their strong points and their weak points, each variant had to be judged on its own merits. A text constituted on eclectic principles, with due circumspection, was bound to present a more faithful picture of the elusive "original" than any single extant codex could do.

I shall now attempt to state—of course, in broad outline—the methodology of the *Mahābhārata* textual criticism adopted by the Institute. The first step was obviously the search for and collection of as many manuscripts of the epic—that is to say, manuscripts comprising the entire epic (which however are rare) or a group of parvans or a single parvan (which last are the most numerous)—as possible.

The collection of manuscripts was followed by the collation of manuscripts. For this purpose, the text of the epic popularised by the commentator Nilakantha was taken as the vulgate. The various manuscripts were compared with the vulgate, letter by letter, and the differences in readings, etc., were carefully recorded. This collation-work was a stupendous task involving many lacs of collation-units. Of course, not all the collected manuscripts were thus collated. The dictum which served as the main guiding principle in the matter of the selection of manuscripts was that, in textual criticism, it was not the number of manuscripts of a given text but the number of independent versions of that text that really mattered. In this connection it was observed that manuscripts written in a particular script, which were more or less exclusively derived from the region in which that script was used, usually represented a distinct version. This is the reason why the various versions of the *Mahābhārata* are, except in one case, denoted in the critical edition by the names of the

relevant scripts. It must, however, be pointed out that the case of the Devanāgarī script was peculiar in that it was a sort of a 'vulgar' script, widely used and understood in India. Similarly, as has been already indicated, the process of free comparison of manuscripts and extensive mutual borrowings had always been in evidence, and the Devanāgarī was the chief medium of contamination between the different recensions and versions. Another criterion for the selection of manuscripts for collation was their age. Old manuscripts, even though fragmentary and partly illegible, were preferred to modern-looking manuscripts, though complete and well-preserved. Within a version, discrepant types were chosen in preference to similar types.

A critical study of the voluminous collations pertaining to any parvan of the *Mahābhārata* at once brings out the fact that the epic has been handed down in two major recensions or text-traditions, namely, a Northern (N) recension and a Southern (S) recension. Further, it also shows that each of these recensions is characterised by a plurality of versions, each of which latter again contains a multiplicity of sub-groups. The Northern recension is represented by the manuscripts written in the scripts of Āryāvarta, such as Śāradā, Nepālī, Maithilī, Bengālī and Devanāgarī, while the Southern recension is represented by the manuscripts written in the scripts of Dakṣiṇāpatha, such as Telugu, Grantha, and Malayalam. Apart from these scriptal differences, the two recensions differ in the matter of the division of the *Mahābhārata* into its various parvans. Against the commonly adopted conventional division of the epic into eighteen parvans, there is the Southern division into twenty-four. Besides this, the manuscripts of the two recensions show numerous other discrepancies, big and small; discrepancies in the spelling of most ordinary words e.g. N : व्रीहः *vṛīḍā*; S : व्रीहः or व्रीहः *vṛīḍā* or *vṛīḍā*; especially of proper names N : नैमिष *Naimiṣa*; S : नैमिष *Naimiṣā* in the readings of words, phrases, lines and stanzas; in the sequence of all these elements; in the relative position of single adhyāyas; and in the relative sequence of whole episodes. Then there are numerous additions and omissions. It may be pointed out that the Southern recension is longer than the Northern recension, because of the additional passages which have been distributed all over that recension of the epic. The story in the Southern recension is richer in details and elaborate in treatment. Altogether that recension gives the impression of a deliberate attempt at precision, schematization and a thoroughly practical outlook. The Northern recension, on the other hand, is vague, unsystematic and

inconsequent. The Southern recension, which may be said to present the *textus ornatior*, is marked by a distinct ethical bias and is full of sententious maxims, while the Northern recension contains a naively narrated story. In spite of these differences between the two recensions of the *Mahābhārata*—differences which must not by any means be underrated—the two recensions also reveal a distinct and undeniable family resemblance. In other words, a study of the manuscripts belonging to the two recensions unmistakably leads us to the conclusion that they must have been independent copies of a single orally transmitted text.

The *stemma codicum* or the genealogy of the *Mahābhārata* manuscripts may then be represented somewhat as follows: The *Ur-Mahābhārata*, the origin and growth of which I have already attempted to trace, had, at some stage in the course of its oral transmission through different rhapsodists who recited the epic differently, consolidated itself into two distinct text-traditions or recensions namely, the Northern recension and the Southern recension. The Northern recension is then seen to have branched off into two major sub-recensions—the North-western sub-recension and the Central sub-recension. The North-western sub-recension further gave rise to two versions, namely, the Śārada and the Kāshmiri versions, while the Central sub-recension grew into two groups, the Eastern group, comprising the Nepālī, the Maithilī and the Bengali versions, and the Central group which is represented by the Devanāgarī version. The Southern recension seems to have branched off into two sub-recensions—the Eastern sub-recension, comprising the Telugu and the Grantha versions, and the Western sub-recension comprising the Malayalam version. Now something about the main characteristics of the different versions: The Śārada version which is, in a sense, an isolated version, being least contaminated with other versions, preserves the text of the epic in a more or less pristine form. It has, accordingly, proved to be of the greatest value for the critical edition. The Kāshmiri version is quite peculiar for, though the manuscripts of this version are written in the Devanāgarī script, they show an unmistakable textual affinity with the Śārada version. These manuscripts have, indeed, to be regarded as Devanāgarī transcripts of the Śārada version. Here is then a case where the script of the manuscripts does not determine their text-critical value. The Nepālī, Maithilī and Bengali versions often go together, showing minimal mutual variations. Though the unitary character of the Bengali version becomes easily manifest, in many cases, that version looks like a sub-version or an Eastern extension of the central Devanāgarī version. The composite character of the

Devanāgarī version becomes evident from the features of both the Northern and the Southern recensions partaken by it. The Telugu version stands on the border-land of the Northern and the Southern recensions, but its essential character as a version affiliated to the major Southern textual tradition is unmistakable. Among the Southern versions, the Telugu and the Grantha versions are closer to each other, while the Malayalam version often stands by itself. Indeed the Malayalam version may, in a sense, be regarded as being in relation to the Southern recension what the Śāradā version is in relation to the Northern recension.

Apart from the large number of manuscripts belonging to the various versions mentioned above, certain testimonia or aids of a partial or subsidiary character, have been used by way of critical apparatus for the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*. These testimonia normally consist of (1) the adaptation of the epic like the Javanese adaptation *Bhāratam* (about A.D. 1000) and the Telugu adaptation by Nannaya (about A.D. 1025), called *Āndhra Bhāratamu*, (2) the epitomes in Sanskrit like the *Bhāratamañjarī* of Kṣemendra (about A.D. 1050), the *Bālābhārata* of Amaracandra Sūri (13th century), and the *Pāṇḍavacarita* of Maladhārī Devaprabha (16th century), and (3) the various commentaries on the epic, like the *Jñānadīpikā* of Devabodha (which is, incidentally, the oldest available commentary), the *Viśamaślokī* of Vimalabodha (between A.D. 1150 and A.D. 1300), *Bhāratārthaprakāśa* of Sarvajña Nārāyaṇa, the *Bhāratārthapradīpikā* of Arjunamiśra (15th century A.D.) the *Lakṣṣāṃkārā* of Vādirāja (16th century A.D.), and the *Bhāratabhāvadīpa* of Nīlakaṇṭha (17th century A.D.).

It is on the basis of all this elaborate critical apparatus that the text of the epic is finally constituted. It is neither possible nor necessary to dilate, here, upon the canons which have governed the constitution of the text in the critical edition. Some broad indications may, however, be given here. The first principle of the *Mahābhārata* textual criticism is to accept as original a reading or feature, which is documented uniformly by all manuscripts alike. In other words, in order that a reading or feature should be regarded as authentic, it must satisfy the condition of the originality of agreement between what may be proved to be more or less independent versions. The rule arising out of such agreement between independent recensions or versions, which may be stated as N-S-constituted text, is easy to comprehend and simple to apply; only its sphere of operation is rather restricted. Difficulties arise when there is fluctuation; and that is the normal state. When there is such fluctuation, the choice falls, as a corollary of the previous rule, upon a reading which is

documented by the largest number of more or less independent versions, and which is supported by intrinsic probability. The presumption of originality in these cases is frequently confirmed by a lack of definite agreement between the discrepant versions. Occasionally we get "double" agreement, that is, agreement between two or more groups of each recension; for instance, the Śāradā and the Kāshmiri versions of the Northern recension agree with the Malayalam version of the Southern recension, and, simultaneously, the Bengali version of the Northern recension agrees with the Telugu and the Grantha versions of the Southern recension. In these circumstances, one of the agreements must, generally speaking, be accidental, since both can hardly be original, and either may be adopted if they have equal intrinsic merit. However, owing to the much greater correctness and reliability of the Śāradā and the Kāshmiri versions, the readings of this group have, as a rule, been adopted in the critical edition, other things being equal. The general tendency in the course of the transmission of an ancient text is to simplify a difficult word or expression. A common rule of textual criticism, therefore, is that a *lectio difficilior* is more original than a *lectio facilior*. Similarly, grammatically irregular forms are more original than regularised variants. This holds good also in the case of the *Mahābhārata*. Therefore solecisms, when shown to be original by a clear agreement on this point between independent versions, have been allowed to stand uncorrected. In this connection it should be remembered that the original text of the epic may not have been necessarily a correct text or a felicitous text. Attention may also be drawn, at this stage, to another rule of textual criticism namely, that a *textus simplicior* is generally more original than *textus ornatior*. Further, as a general rule, preference is given to a reading which best suggests how the other readings might have arisen. Another important rule which the editors of the *Mahābhārata* have scrupulously observed is that, irrespective of the result that it may lead to, the objective documentary evidence must be, as far as possible, the final deciding factor in the constitution of the text. In other words, interpretation must be given precedence over emendation. Accordingly, emendation has played a very inconspicuous rôle in the critical edition. Actually it has been resorted to merely for the purpose of unifying divergent and conflicting manuscript evidence, never in opposition to clear and unanimous testimony of manuscripts. The editors have always been careful not to force their subjective views in the matter of the constitution of the text. Wherever the manuscript evidence in respect of a line, phrase, word or word-part is equally balanced, this fact is indicated by a wavy line printed under that element of the text. A

wavy line is thus used when the transmitted readings appear to be obviously corrupt or when the Northern and the Southern recensions offer two different readings of equal value or when the evidence *pro et contra* of documentary and intrinsic probability is equally balanced. Incidentally it may be added that the high hopes entertained by some scholars that the *Parvasaṁgrahaparvan* would supply a decisive clue for the reconstruction of the original *Mahābhārata* have been found to be not well founded.

What did the critical edition aim at and what does it claim for itself? To begin with, it must be pointed out that the critical edition did not aim—indeed, it could not have aimed—at presenting anything like the original copy of the epic as Vyāsa may have written it. It did not also aim at a reconstruction of the *Ur-Mahābhārata*, that ideal but impossible desideratum. It did not again seek to reproduce the text of the poem as recited by Vaiśampāyana before Janamejaya or even by the Sūta before Śaunaka. The critical edition modestly aimed at presenting a text of the epic as old as the extant manuscript material permitted with some semblance of confidence. If the editorial work has been done properly, the critical edition may claim to embody the most ancient text of the epic according to the direct line of transmission—a text which is purer than others in so far as it is free from the obvious errors of copying and spurious additions. The constituted text may claim to be the ancestor of all extant manuscripts of the epic. As indicated above, the constituted text is not necessarily a correct text from the grammatical point of view nor a felicitous text from the literary point of view. It contains loose and archaic linguistic forms and constructions, anacoluthons and lack of syntactical concord. There remain many contradictions and superfluities. There is evident lack of literary finish. These features—and aren't they natural in dynamic poetry?—must have been inherent in the old poem. Where they are met with in the critical text, they are documented by the manuscripts themselves or at least are inferable from them with a high degree of probability. The critical edition has only cleansed the text of the *Mahābhārata* of puerile modern accretions and obvious errors of repetition. On the other hand, it has rescued from undeserved oblivion many an authentic archaism, which had been gradually ousted in the course of the transmission of the text.

The critical edition of *Mahābhārata* claims to be an edition in the preparation of which all the important extant versions of the Great Epic have been taken into consideration and all important manuscripts collated, estimated and turned to account; it is an edition in the preparation of which the various collateral testimonia have also been critically utilized. Another important feature of this edition

is this: Since all divergent readings of any importance are given in the critical notes printed at the foot of the page, this edition, for the first time, renders it possible for the reader to have before him the entire significant evidence for each individual passage. The value of this method for scientific investigation of the epic is obvious. Further, since not even the seemingly most irrelevant line or stanza actually found in a *Mahābhārata* manuscript collated for the edition is on any account omitted, this edition of *Mahābhārata* is, in a sense, more complete than any previous edition. It is a veritable thesaurus of the *Mahābhārata* tradition.

THE BENGALI LANGUAGE

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJEE

OF the languages of India, Bengali may be described as the home language of the largest number. Of the 140 to 50 millions who speak Hindi in India, by far the larger number speak other languages and dialects at home but use Hindi as the language of their education, literature and public life. Languages like Maithili, Bhojpuri, Rajasthani and Garhwali differ considerably in grammar from Hindi, yet the millions who speak them are included within the 140 millions of "Hindi-speakers." Bengali has virtually the same grammar wherever it is used; it is in pronunciation that slight differences are noticeable.

In addition to its numerical importance, Bengali has a literature which is in the forefront of modern literatures; it has given to India and the world the writings of Rabindranath Tagore. It has been in existence as a characterised language for the last 1,000 years. The earliest specimens of Bengali go back to the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., the period when the Modern or New Indo-Aryan languages of India and Ceylon came to be established in something like their present form; when the Dravidian languages also entered into a new phase of their linguistic and literary history. An earlier antiquity has been claimed for Bengali by one or two scholars, but it would appear that as a language we cannot take it so far back as the 7th century A.D. as Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah has proposed.

Bengali, to give its proper pedigree, is a member of the Eastern sub-section of the Magadhan Section of the *Pracya* or Eastern Development of the Indo-Aryan speech, and this Indo-Aryan speech itself is a member of the Aryan or Indo-Iranian Branch of the Indo-European Family of Languages. In this way, Bengali

with its sister and cousin Indo-Aryan tongues, is a distant cousin, four or five generations removed, of Persian, English, French, Russian, Greek, and other great languages of Europe and Asia. It is written and printed in an alphabet which goes back ultimately to the ancient Brahmi script of India, equally the source of all the various modern Indian alphabets which developed in their present shape about a thousand years ago, like the Nagari (for Hindi and Marathi, as well as to some extent for Gujarati—and for Sanskrit in the present era), Oriya, Gurmukhi, Sarada, Telugu, Kannada, Grantha and Tamil, and Malayalam, besides a few others. The script of Sinhalese, Tibetan, Burmese and Mon, Siamese, Cambodian, and of Indonesia (like Javanese and Balenese, Batak, etc.,) are also derived from this ancient Brahmi through various mediaeval forms which were taken to these countries.

As a language, Bengali is vigorous and expressive and is generally acknowledged to be pleasant to the ear. It is modern speech; thanks to the work of four generations of Bengali writers during the last 100 years, it has been keeping abreast of modern civilisation. It boasts of being able to give fullest expression to all modern ideas, although it may be lacking in wealth of technical terms for science and technology. It has a respectable amount of early and mediaeval literature, including poems and lyrics which have a permanent value as artistic creations; its modern literature is extensive, from poetry of quality and fiction including short stories, and dramas. It produced at least four great writers during the last one hundred years who have become pan-Indian—their works being read in the original or in translation all over India—M. Madhusudan Datta, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Rabindranath Tagore, and Sarat Chandra Chatterji. Besides, there are other writers, of only lesser eminence, whose works also are read outside the orbit of the Bengali language itself. Among builders of

Modern India, in the intellectual, artistic, scientific and literary fields, who wrote both in Bengali and English are Ram Mohan Roy, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Keshab Chandra Sen, Rajendralala Mitra, Haraprasad Sastri, Ramesh Chandra Datta, Swami Vivekananda, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Praphulla Chandra Ray, P. Ramatha Chaudhuri and Abanindranath Tagore.

Of the heaven of Bengali literature working in other languages, the songs of Rabindranath Tagore with their music—Rabindranath composed over 2000 songs, and the melodies for most of these were also his creation—are a force. *Rabindra-Sangit* or “Rabindra Songs” have now acquired a special place of honour in Indian music, like the *Dhrupads* of Tanasena composed mainly in the Braj-Bhasa form of Hindi, and the *Padas* of Tyagaraya composed in Telugu. *Rabindra-Sangit* are attracting people outside Bengal to take an interest in the Bengali language.

The Bengali language as a New or Modern Indo-Aryan speech evolved out of a form of Middle Indo-Aryan (Prakrit and Apabhramsa) of the East towards the end of the first millennium A.D. It is derived ultimately from Old Indo-Aryan as in the Rig-Veda, which forms the oldest specimens of the Aryan language in India.

As in the case of all other languages of the Indo-European family not only in India but also outside India, the history of the language here is a history of decay and of the making up of losses by new methods. Old Indo-Aryan as in the Vedic Speech (of c. 1000 B.C.) started with a very full grammatical system, with a large number of forms in the declension of the Noun and the conjugation of the Verb. The entire grammar of Old Indo-Aryan was very elaborate in its inflectional system. In Middle Indo-Aryan, a stage of the Aryan speech in India which started roughly from the 7th century B.C., these inflections of Old Indo-Aryan began to be considerably curtailed and simplified, and this process of

whittling down the affixes (which went hand in hand with the modification of the phonetic system) continued throughout the centuries. Finally, at the close of the Middle Indo-Aryan period, during the last two or three centuries of the first millennium A.D., the inflectional system of the Aryan speech was very much reduced, and the language was forced to take recourse to other devices in order to indicate case-relations and time-relations for the Noun and the Verb respectively. Thus a word like the Old Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) *grhasya* became *gharussa* (though phonetic decay) in Middle Indo-Aryan, and this changed to *gharaha* in typical Late Middle Indo-Aryan or Apabhramsa, and in order to make clear the genitive case-relation, towards the end of the Middle Indo-Aryan period as a new device, it became the rule to add various help words to show ownership or connexion which the old genitive affix had shown. Independent Old Indo-Aryan words like *kara*, *karya*, *krta*, *krtya*, *karna*, *datta* or **dita*, etc., were added in their modified forms after the word *ghara*, and from this new method, these developed composite forms like *ghara-kara*, *ghara-kera*, *ghara-kajja*, *ghara-kaa*, *ghara-kacca*, *ghara-dia* or **ghara-daa*, which are the sources of the genitive forms of the word *ghara* or *ghar* in the various Modern or New Indo-Aryan languages, like East Bengali, Assamese and Oriya *ghara-ra* or *ghara-r*, Bengali *gharer*, Sindhi *ghar-jo*, Hindi *ghar-ka*, Marathi *ghara-ca*, and Panjabi *ghar-da*, which are now so far away from the Old Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit *grhasya*. Similarly in the case of the verb conjugation, there were large scale losses, and only a few innovations. Thus in the matter of the tense in the verb, Old Indo-Aryan had at least three inflected forms of the root to indicate the past tense—the imperfect, the perfect and the aorist. Then two more forms were built up, in later classical Sanskrit. But gradually all these inflected past forms were dropped, and the past participle adjective, the present participle active and a future

participle passive—these three were taken up as the basis or nucleus of the New Indo-Aryan past and future forms. These and some other changes characterised most Indo-Aryan languages. In these ways, by 1000 A.D., when Bengali, Maithili, Awadhi, Panjabi, Gujarati, Marathi, etc., had their full development, the Old Indo-Aryan speech, transformed into these in the course of centuries, had completely changed its outward form.

The outward form was changed in phonetics and grammar, as well as in syntax; but in vocabulary a living contact was maintained with the Old Indo-Aryan speech all through. The Aryan language from the time of the first coming of the Aryans into India, was always exposed to the influence of the pre-Aryan languages. Large groups of pre-Aryan peoples, speaking various Dravidian, Austric or Munda and Sino-Tibetan speeches, abandoned these for the Aryan speech. In this process of accepting a new speech, many of the speech habits of the languages which were being abandoned or suppressed came to be imposed upon the New Aryan Language which was adopted by the non-Aryans. So the nature of the Aryan speech changed in a four-fold manner—in phonetics, in morphology, in syntax and in vocabulary. The change of syntax is very vital, as it showed a different way of thinking from what was behind the original Aryan language with its own way of ordering words in the sentence. There has been a gradual approximation of the Aryan speech in its spirit, particularly through syntax and vocabulary, to the non-Aryan languages. The speakers of Dravidian and Aryan at the present day think in the same manner, and their words are syntactically arranged in the same way. The actual words and roots as well as terminations differ very largely in Aryan and Dravidian and other non-Aryan languages. But the thought-process involved in the language has now become, through intensive racial, linguistic and cultural miscegenation, almost identical.

We need not go into detail about the development of the Aryan speech before the beginning of the New Indo-Aryan period. Suffice it to say that by 1000 A.D., a new line of development characterised most of the Aryan speeches of India, and this brought in the New Indo-Aryan stage in the history of Aryan. After Bengali was formed as a language, it had an independent history through these nine centuries. Taking into note the general trends as well as the progress of the development of Bengali as a language, we can divide the linguistic history of Bengali into three broad periods or stages:

- (1) Old Bengali, roughly from 950 A.D. to 1200 A.D.;
- (2) Middle Bengali, from 1200 A.D. to 1800 A.D.; and
- (3) New Bengali or Modern Bengali, from 1800 A.D. to the present day.

This Middle Bengali period again is to be divided into three sub-periods:

- (a) A Transitional period from Old to Middle Bengali, from 1200 to 1350 A.D.
- (b) An Early Middle period, from 1350 to 1600 A.D. and
- (c) A Late Middle period, from 1600 to 1800 A.D.

This division into periods and stages cannot be very rigorously made or insisted upon; they are just substantive or indicative of the line of development.

Specimens of Old Bengali literature are to be found in a number of late Mahayana Buddhist as well as pure Brahmanical songs and poems which are preserved in a fragmentary form. The most important specimens of Old Bengali are contained in the 47 *caryapadas* which were collected, and commented upon in Sanskrit, and were preserved in Nepal. Mm. Haraprasad Sastri edited these *caryapadas* from a transcript of a manuscript book, with three other books of the same period, which he

found in the Darbar Library of Nepal. The *caryapadas* are in Old Bengali, whereas the other books are in forms of Western or Sauraseni Apabhramsa of about 1000 A.D. Some further specimens of similar literature of Buddhist Sahajiza songs in Old Bengali have since been discovered in Nepal and Tibet. The language of the *caryapadas* easily resolves itself into Old Bengali, and present-day Bengali can very well be looked upon as a development, after about a thousand years, of this language. But Bengali, Assamese and Oriya, and some forms of the dialects of Bihar, are so very close to each other, that the *caryapadas* have also been claimed as being in Old Assamese and Old Oriya as well as Old Maithili and they have even been described (quite unscientifically) as "Old Hindi". The writer thinks that the language of the *caryapadas* definitely shows some specific Bengali features; and the claim to look upon them as representing the old form of the other connected speeches is only indicative of the fact that Bengali, Assamese, Oriya on the one hand and Maithili, Magadhi and Bhojpari on the other converge from the same kind of speech— a Magadhi Apabhramsa or late Magadhi Prakrit —of a thousand years ago. Other forms of Old Bengali are to be found in some stray passages here and there in Sanskrit and Bengali literature, and also in a number of place-names and personal names in the inscriptions of Bengal prior to the establishment of Muslim Turki Rule early in the 13th century. In the *Prakṛta-Paṅgala* (a treatise on Prakrit and Apabhramsa versification, with an anthology of popular poetry, compiled about the end of 15th century), there are verses which appear to be Old Bengali, though considerably modified by the influence of Western speeches. The 24 songs in the Sanskrit *Gita Govinda* of Jayadeva also appear to be Sanskritisation of Old Bengali songs.

In the formative period of Bengali, side by side with Sanskrit and the Prakrits, the Apabhramsa or Late

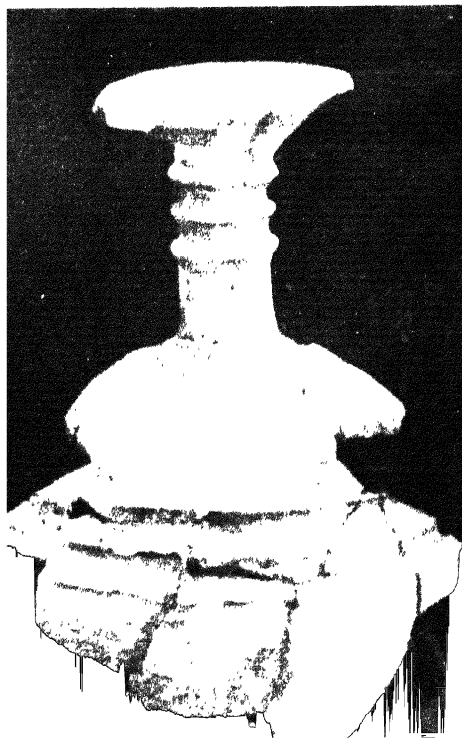


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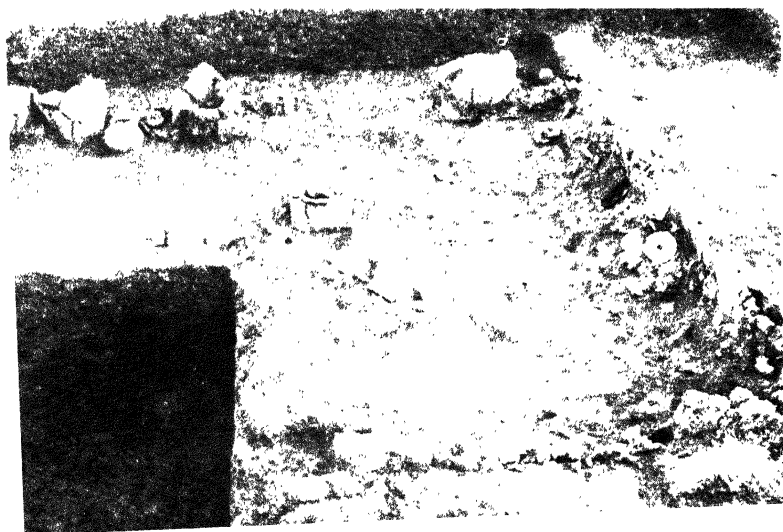
1. *Chumel spotted bowl in black and red ware
Period III IV (1500-1200 B.C.)*

2. *A Kuja bea vessel with a high neck and corrugated body
Period I (1800 B.C.)*





4





VAL ADATOLI (Contd.)

3. Remains of houses of three periods, the last one being mud-wall enclosure.
4. Remains of a house mud walls, destroyed about 1200 B.C.
5. A well-made pit 7' 6" x 6' 7" in area, possibly a cistern, deep with pot-holes.

Prakrit speech as current in what is now present-day Western U.P., Rajasthan, and Eastern Panjab, had also a very great vogue as a secondary literary language throughout the whole of Aryan India. It would appear that the prestige of the Rajput courts had something to do with the vogue of this Western or Sauraseni Apabhramsa. As a matter of fact, poets in Eastern India wrote not only in the older forms of Bengali, Oriya, Assamese and Maithili, but also in Western Apabhramsa which was a kind of Hindi in those days. The three other books which Haraprasad Sastri procured from Nepal and which were published by him in 1918, along with the Old Bengali *caryapadas*, were in this Western Apabhramsa.

Be that as it may, we may say that in tracing the history of Bengali as a language, we have to consider the *caryapadas* in the first instance. They are as important for the study of Bengali as Old English (or Anglo-Saxon) is for that of English. The Turks, after having established a new dynasty of foreign and Muslim rulers at Delhi, spread their conquests into Bengal, and in 1203 A.D. Bakhtyar Khalji conquered Nadiya, the capital of West Bengal and established Turk Muslim Rule. This event brought about the creation and development of a new element in the Bengali-speaking people—the Bengali Musalman. There were in Bengal Buddhists and Jains as well as Brahmanists and followers of the pre-Aryan religions (which still survived under the mantle of official Brahmanism), before 1200 A.D. Through settlement of the Turks in Bengal and their inter-marriage with the local people and, much more so, through the conversion to Islam of large masses of Bengalis, particularly of the humbler ranks who were neglected by the Brahmins and the upper classes, a Bengali Muslim population came into being.

The first century and a half after the Turki conquest appears to have been a comparatively barren

period for Bengali in the matter of literature. The beginnings of Bengali literature were made before the Turks came, and although scholars generally wrote in Sanskrit, and some wrote even in Western Apabhramsa, the cultivation of Bengali had already started. There was a sense of pride in the language even before 1200 A.D., for in an Old Anthology of Sanskrit Verses, compiled about 1205 A.D. by a Bengali scholar Sridhara-dasa, we find the following verse in Sanskrit by an unknown poet from East Bengal:

*ghana-rasa-mayi, vakrima-subhaga, upajivita kavibhih
avagadha ca punite Ganga Vangala-vani ca.*

“The Ganges river and the Bengali speech sanctify those who take a dip in them: the Ganges has copious waters and it has a beautiful meandering course, while the Bengali language is rich in all the poetic flavours and flexible and full of grace, and both have been utilised by poets.”

The Turki conquest established a foreign religion by a foreign people who were sometimes ruthless in their destruction of temples and institutions which had developed in Bengal. It was a veritable cultural rout for the people of Bengal and for some time while the alien Turki Muslim Power was consolidating itself in Bengal as a military autocracy, there was not much scope for any literary progress. The only literature that lived on in Bengali was in the shape of songs and ballads, as it would appear. After the Turks had settled down and a Bengali Muslim population rooted to the soil came into being, and the Bengali Muslim first made his appearance, the conflict of ideals and cultures developed into co-operation in certain departments. The people gradually became reconciled to the change and literary endeavour started again. We have, as a result, from after 1350 A.D. a renewal of literary effort in Bengal. In the meanwhile, the language was also changing. New inflections were developing and with each dialect area having its own

special forms of expression and sometimes inflections, a composite literary Bengali was being formed and was on the way to being generally adopted. This was mainly on the basis of West Bengali, but East Bengali forms were also freely admitted. But in spite of slight dialectal differences, Bengali was felt to be one single speech, particularly with the intellectual aristocracy, as represented by the Brahmans, and the ruling or landlord classes as represented by the Kayasthas. As much as in Middle English, we note in early Middle Bengali, right down to 1600, a plethora of slightly different forms for the same inflections. But all these tended to be standardised from the 17th century, until we have a Standard Literary Bengali established and universally accepted. We need not go into matters of detail in this connexion but one thing may be noted, and this is the predominance of Sanskrit as a feeder language and inspirer of Bengali.

Sanskrit, long after its spoken forms became modified into Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan (in the early centuries of the 1st millennium B.C.), continued to be studied through the centuries; and whenever the vernacular speech—whether Prakrit or Apabhramsa or Old Bengali or Middle Bengali (as much as the vernacular speeches in the other parts of India)—was in need of a suitable word, ordinarily it did not build up this word with its own resources of roots, affixes and other words, but went directly to Sanskrit and borrowed that word straightaway. In this way Bengali, like other New Indo-Aryan and also Dravidian languages, became largely a *borrowing language* and not a *building* one. From the 14th century onwards, and particularly in the 15th and 16th centuries, there was a sort of revival of the study of Sanskrit in Bengal, as in other parts of North India. The Muslim religion as established by the Turks began seriously to jeopardise the position of Hinduism. Apart from the aggressive and frequently fanatical attacks on

Hindu culture and religion by the conquering Turks and their successors and converts, and also by the peaceful ways of penetration and persuasion by Sufi preachers who went into the interior of the country and settled down among the neglected Hindu masses, Islam began to make headway at the expense of Hinduism. To resist the ideological and other forms of onslaught by Islam, the religious leaders of the Hindus, Brahmans and non-Brahmans, householders and *sannyasis*, became alive to the situation and took positive measures. Among these measures was the desire to preach to the unlettered people the basic beliefs and practices of Hinduism, as embodied in the *Puranas*. Translations of *Purana* stories and the spiritual and moral lessons they convey became the most successful method of counteracting and combating Muslim influences. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* as well as the *Puranas* like the *Bhagavata-Purana*, came to the rescue of Hindu religion and culture, and translations or adaptations of these books, as well as of other works on Philosophy and higher religion like the *Bhagavad-Gita*, were made in the different modern Indian languages. This movement started with great vigour, as said before, from the second half of the 14th century, although in some places it commenced earlier. All these translations and adaptations and original compositions in the vernacular, bringing the message of Hindu religion and culture to the door of the people, necessarily involved the introduction of an increasingly larger Sanskrit element, into the New Indo-Aryan languages, (as well as in the Dravidian languages). Bengali, like Awadhi of Tulsidasa and Old Marathi of Jnaneswara, began to absorb Sanskrit words *ad libitum*; and in this way one of the main characteristics of the Bengali speech was established, during the early and late Middle Bengali periods. The extremes to which this Sanskritisation can go is to be seen in certain other languages like Oriya and Malayalam (the latter a cultured Dravidian

language of the extreme south of India). This to some extent curbed the natural power of Bengali to create its own words. But on the whole, the habit of Sanskrit borrowing has not been a source of weakness for Bengali; it has given to the language an intellectual association with the great days of Indian culture, when original thought was one of the achievements of the Hindus; and the rest of India also has unconsciously re-discovered the value of Sanskrit in the development of the other Modern Indian languages.

The coming of the Muslims on the Indian scene brought in two foreign languages, Persian and Arabic. Persian was firmly established in North India (and to some extent in the Deccan also) as the language of administration and the law-courts, as well as of higher literary and intellectual culture among large sections of Muslims, whether in the courts of kings and rulers or in the mosques, schools or houses of the Muslim nobility. Persian slowly trickled down to the modern Indian languages, and a considerable Persian vocabulary became slowly and inevitably adopted in India. There was no deliberate attempt or propaganda to bring these words into Indian languages. But since they were in use in the law-courts and in the entourage of Muslim kings and noblemen, people took to them most naturally. But it was among certain Muslim religious circles (this began as early as the early 14th century) and among certain Persian-knowing writers of Hindustani from the 18th century onwards, that there was a deliberate attempt to Persianise the vocabulary of the language which was in use among Muslims in Delhi and its neighbourhood. In fact, from the second half of the 18th century, Delhi became a focus for the spread of Persian influence on Indian languages. A large number of Indian Muslims of the cultured groups—noblemen in the court, scholars, religious men, poets, administrative officers who knew Persian, and others similarly situated, who had a love

for Persian and cultivated it, sought to bring the atmosphere of Persian into the Hindi language. Groups of North Indian Muslims, who felt frustrated through the gradual establishment of Maratha and British power in India, sought to create for themselves a refuge of their own, where they could imbibe to their fullest satisfaction the fragrance of Muslim culture as expressed in the atmosphere of Persian poetry; and they in this way created literary Urdu in the 18th century. Those who thought to establish Urdu deliberately took it up as their policy to introduce as many Arabic and Persian words as possible, and to reduce to the absolute minimum the native Hindi and Sanskrit words in the language or style they were building up.

In Bengali, the Persianising movement could not be so strong. Nevertheless, by a most natural process and without any propaganda for Perso-Arabic, a good number of Perso-Arabic words came into the language. As centuries passed, the number was on the increase, and the largest Persian element we find in the Bengali language came in the 18th century. Some portions of the work of the greatest poet of Bengali in the 18th century, Bharat Chandra Ray Gunakar, show a judicious admixture of Persian words with native Bengali and Sanskrit. Bengali Muslims naturally would use Perso-Arabic words when these related to matters of their religion and to specific Muslim culture. But that did not damage the basic Sanskritic character of the language, which normally went to Sanskrit for words of higher import. The Muslim writers of Bengal all conform to the standard speech in the matter of vocabulary; and compositions of some Bengali Muslim writers, like the 17th century Bengali Muslim poets from Chittagong and Arracan as well as some other important poets elsewhere, show a style of language which in vocabulary does not differ perceptibly from that used by Hindu writers. The same Bengali script was also employed as

the native script of the language by Muslims as well. The early introduction of the Perso-Arabic script in writing Hindustani had led to the unfortunate situation of dividing up Hindustani into two mutually exclusive (and one might say inimical) languages - Hindi and Urdu. Bengali has been saved from this disaster; and even now, in West Bengal (Pakistan), we find the same style of Bengali, Sanskritic for its cultured words (excepting, of course, for words specifically connected with Islam and Islamic culture, which are from Arabic and Persian). The innate good sense of the Bengali people, whether Hindu or Muslim, has saved their language from being split up into two conflicting styles or forms.

There was a set-back to this imperceptible increase of the Persian element in Bengali after the establishment of the British in Bengal. At first the British did not disturb the situation. Persian was used in administration—in the law-courts Bengali lawyers drew up their documents and pleaded in Persian (there were of course deeds and documents which were executed in Bengali by the litigants or testators or donors, whether Hindus or Muslims). The judgments and awards in the law-courts used to be delivered in Persian by English Administrative Officers who had to learn Persian in India. But all this kind of thing was changed in 1838, and the Old *Sadar Diwani 'Adalat* or Supreme Civil Court and *Sadar Nizamat 'Adalat* or the Supreme Criminal Court, where Persian was used, became the English-using High Court in Calcutta. English and Bengali took the place of Persian, and immediately the road to the further admission and even maintenance of Persian words in the language was closed. But quite a large vocabulary of Persian words, specially connected with administration and the law-courts, are still current in Bengali. With the revival of Islam among Bengali Muslims, the door has been opened for a fresh accession of specific Perso-Arabic

words for Islamic religion and culture. But that does not disturb the general spirit of the language.

The Portuguese merchants established themselves in the sea-ports of Bengal from the 16th century and from 1599, when the Portuguese first came and established themselves in Bengal, i.e. from about 1600 right down to 1750, the Portuguese language maintained an important place in the coastal towns of Bengal, which were open to foreign trade—Chittagong, Bakla, Dacca, Hooghly, Calcutta, Tamluk and Pipli in Orissa. Portuguese was, for a long time, the only European language which was understood by the Bengali commercial class and others who had dealings with foreigners. Roman Catholic Missionaries, aided by the proselytising zeal of Portuguese merchants and soldier-adventurers, converted a large number of Bengalis to their religion; and those who became slaves under the Portuguese naturally had to accept their masters' religion (as much as slaves under the Muslims). Through these Bengali Roman-Catholic converts, the language has now got over 100 Portuguese words, and a good many of them passed on into the interior—into the dialects of Bihar, and into Hindustani itself. The Dutch and the French also came into Bengal in the 18th century as traders, and a few words from these two languages also have found a place in Bengali.

The most important foreign element in the last few centuries has come of course from English. With the advancement of science and technology and European technical knowledge and use of technical gadgets, this class of words is continually on the increase. English has now got added strength through the pre-eminence of America in all the domains of life. Bengali has now some 1000 common words relating to administration and law and other different walks of life, as well as the domains of higher culture, which are all from English. The English element is increasing in Bengali as in other

Indian languages and although Englishmen have quit India their language does not show any tendency to banish itself from the Indian scene.

The Bengali language is written in its own script, which is a cousin of the Nagari script for Hindi and Marathi. The Old Brahmi script of ancient India, in which Sanskrit and other Indian languages used to be written, is found in the inscriptions of Asoka in the 3rd century B.C. This was gradually transformed into the Gupta script of about 400 A.D. in North India, and from the Gupta script there developed the *Siddha-Matrka* of the time of Harshavardhana (middle of the 7th century A.D.) With this, there was a unity of script for the whole of North India right down to the end of the 7th century. Then, gradually, this common North Indian script developed different local forms and by 1000 A.D. we have the Nagari developed and established in Rajasthan, in Maharashtra, in Western U.P., whereas in Bengal we have the proto-Bengali script, which was virtually the same as the script in use in Nepal (Newari), Assam, Bihar and Orissa. Within a few centuries after the Turki conquest, what may be described as the modern Bengali script was virtually established, and this is the same as that in use in Assamese, only the Assamese has one letter extra for the sound of 'w', and the letter for 'r' in Assamese is slightly different from that in Bengali. Bengali has been written also in the Roman script by Christian Missionaries, and the first Bengali book which was ever printed was from Lisbon in 1743—a Roman Catholic Catechism and a Bengali Grammar with Bengali-Portuguese Vocabularies. It was printed in the Roman script adopting the Portuguese values of the letters. The Bengali script was used in print for the first time in 1778, in a grammar of the language written by Nathaniel Brassey Halhed (printed from Hooghly).

Bengali, as has been said before, is a very expressive

language, and a hundred years of close connexion with English has enabled it to catch up the modern spirit. To make a language expressive of modern ideas, the people who speak it must also have a progressive outlook and a desire to integrate themselves culturally and in intellectual matters with the rest of the civilised world. Bengali had taken a conspicuous part in the modernisation of the mind of India, from the early decades of the 19th century. And the effect of this is to be found in the language as it is now. With its native Bengali, its Sanskrit and its Perso-Arabic words, in certain contexts Bengali can be moulded into a diversity of styles, simple and vigorous, or elaborate and long-winded. A modern vocabulary is also well-established.

One of the drawbacks of the Bengali language is that it has got two styles, the written and the colloquial, known respectively as the *Sadhu Bhasha* and the *Chalit Bhasha*. Both of these are used in printed literature though the *Sadhu Bhasha* still holds the field. The *Chalit Bhasha* is based on the speech of the educated classes in and about Calcutta, although there is a strong influence of the speech of Dacca and other East Bengal areas through large numbers of people from East Bengal making their permanent home in Calcutta. But through the drama and the novel, as well as through the radio and the cinema, the *Chalit Bhasha* is now becoming dominant, and the *Sadhu Bhasha*, though still commonly used, seems to be on the way to ultimate obsolescence. Another drawback of Bengali, which is preventing it from becoming easily acceptable in other parts of India, is its phonetic system. The Bengali sound system has had its own development, and the Bengali pronunciation of Sanskrit is very different from that of the rest of India (excepting Assamese, which has its peculiarities as well). This is what makes spoken Bengali very difficult of comprehension for a Hindi speaker or a Maharashtrian, a Panjabi or a Tamilian; even when

they can read and understand written Bengali, particularly in the Sanskritised *Sādhu Bhasha*. The grammar of Bengali is very simple—there are no elaborate rules of gender (gender in Bengali is natural and not according to termination of the word, and it does not affect the adjective and the verb as in Hindi, Gujarati and Marathi), nor are there plural forms for the verb in the different tense-forms and participles. But this is counterbalanced by a number of peculiar Bengali phonetic laws operating in the language which make the acquirement of colloquial Bengali to perfection rather difficult for non-Bengalis if they have to learn it only from books.

On the whole the numerical predominance of Bengali has been very successfully sustained by its literary pre-eminence and by the value of the scientific, artistic, political and other contributions of the people who speak it.

The following are some of the peculiarities in Phonetics which mark off Bengali from the greater part of India. The first vowel of the Indian alphabet, *short a*, is pronounced in the rest of India outside Bengal (and Assam and Orissa) like the *u* of English *hut*, or the *a* of English *ago*, *China*. In Bengali, it is normally pronounced like the *aw* as in English *law*, with rounded lips, and sometimes this sound becomes a positively closed *o* sound. The *anuswāra* is pronounced like *-ng* as in English *sing*, and not as *m* or *n* as in other parts of India. The cerebral *ṇ* does not exist. The aspirates *ph* and *bh* are frequently changed to *f* and *v* (bilabial). Initial *r* in Sanskrit words becomes *j*. The letter for *r* (or *w*) in Bengali is now identical with that for *b*, and in Bengali, Sanskrit *v*, standing by itself, becomes *b* (*vivāha-bibaho*, *ravindra*—*rabindra* or *robindra*, etc.), but after *n* consonant, it normally simply doubles the consonant and is not itself pronounced. The three sibilants of Sanskrit, palatal *ś*, cerebral *ṣ* or *sh*, and dental *s*, all become a kind of *sh* sound in Bengali—Sanskrit *śaviśeṣa* becomes *shōbishesh*. These are some of the most noteworthy things in Bengali pronunciation and I need not go into other details, both of pronunciation and of phonetic laws.

**A CONDENSED TEACHING OF THE IDEA OF
TAKING REFUGE: being a commentary on the
whole Buddha-dharma—KHAMTRUL RIMPOCHE**

Translated by: LOBZANG JIVAKA

The act of Going for Refuge to the Triple Gem is what distinguishes the Buddhist from the non-Buddhist. It is the source from which all virtue arises; it is the receptacle of our vows and the basis of all paths to Deliverance. And developing an Enlightened Attitude is the spring-board for rising to the level of Buddhahood. It is also the origin of all that is good and useful for the present life and future peace. These are the two topics to be dealt with.

As regards Going for Refuge, one may look at it in two ways :

Firstly, in respect of the actual act of Going to the Refuge, there is the object to which we go, the occasion of going and the act of Going itself. These are the three points.

Starting with the object : the perfect Buddha is the unsurpassable Teacher. The true Dharma is the unsurpassable Protection and the noble Sangha is the most unsurpassable of all Guides. These are the Object.

Considering the Buddha first : He possesses the four bodies (*Kaya*) and the five types of knowledge. Of the four bodies the *Ngo-wo-nyid-ku*, (Essential Body) is the Absolute Reality without limitation. The *Chhos-ku* (*Dharmakaya*) is the ever-present duality of Knowing. The *Longs-ku* (*Sambhogakaya*) is the apparitional body, rich in its major and minor characteristics and the *Tulku* (*Nirmanakaya*) is the human form appearing thus to suit those who are ready for it.

As regards the five types of knowledge—There is the knowledge of Reality as being pure in itself. There

is the Illuminating Knowledge which is like a mirror, there is the Knowledge of Impartiality which is the knowledge of the non-existence of things whether near or far, and of the attachment there is to them ; and there is the Discriminating Knowledge which becomes aware of that knowledge which is unadulterated by preconceptions and there is the Achievement Knowledge which achieves Buddhahood for the sake of others without effort. These are the five.

Now about the Dharma. It is the very essence of the Buddha's precepts and is perfect Knowledge. As regards the revelation of the Buddha, there are Three Baskets (*Tripitaka*). There is the basket of the Discipline, (*Vinaya Pitaka*) which overcomes the misery which is begotten by your emotional states. There is the basket of the Sutras, (*Sutrapitaka*) which is the classified collection of the Buddha's sayings ; and there is the basket of the Abhidharma (*Abhidharma Pitaka*) which develops the higher Knowledge of the direct intuitive perception.

As to the Dharma of understanding—The basket of the Vinaya teaches the Discipline of Higher Ethics. The basket of the Sutras teaches Higher Concentration most explicitly, and the Abhidharma teaches Higher Knowledge. When making an inner experience of these three subjects, there is born in your mind a rejection and an understanding ; through scaling and traversing the five paths and the ten spiritual planes. Rejection is the sublime Truth of Annihilation and Understanding is the Sublime Truth of the Path.

So far as the Sangha is concerned, the Sangha of the non-relapsing Bodhisattvas is meant. There are the Bodhisattvas of the Ten Stages who, because they directly intuit the Void [No-thing-ness] through their Higher Knowledge, do not return to *Samsara* and, who through their Compassion, therefore do not fall into the extreme of quietism.

The second point concerns the occasions of Going to the Refuge "until Enlightenment is reached". In the Mahayana there are three distinct features with respect to the specific object. But the Hinayanists do not recognise the *Dharmakaya* (*Chhos-ku*) and *Sambhogakaya* (*Longs-ku*) apart from the supreme *Nirmankaya* (*Tulku*), the Sakyamuni. And since the *Nirmanakaya* has passed away, the reason for Taking Refuge is past. They claim that their Sangha is the best, with its Sotipannas or Stream-Enterers, the Once-Returners and Non-Returners and the Arahants, who are Sravakas and Pratyek Buddhas and they desire the peace where there is the best of states with no attachments i.e. the quietism mentioned above. And in these words they claim the Absolute Truth of Cessation and Nirvana.

But the Mahayanist view has been explained above.

Regarding the specificity of intention, the Hinayanists take Refuge for the purpose of detachment, desiring deliverance from the suffering world for themselves and the Mahayanists take Refuge through developing an attitude which desires that all sentient beings may obtain Buddhahood.

Now as to the *third point*: That of the actual Taking of Refuge.

When one makes an experience of what is implied by the words: 'I am going for Refuge', one folds one's hands in the presence of great Leaders and Guides who lead all other beings on and we accept them in kindness by virtue of their Knowledge, Compassion and Power, inasmuch as all of them are surrounded by a host of Buddha-Sons and Bodhisattvas, as numerous as there are atoms in the world, or even in a single atom, and surrounded also by minds of those Buddha-Sons of the *Dharma-dhatu* which are filled with the true Dharma.

So, from now on, until I have obtained Enlightenment, I take Refuge in the Triple Gem, thinking that I

shall rely on you, the Three Jewels, that I shall offer you everything and that I shall realise you alone, being firmly convinced that you know best what I am to do. Apart from you there is no Refuge or place in which to rest may hopes. This we should learn in the wake of Going for Refuge.

There are six special ways of learning things and there are five ways common to the six. Firstly, there are three things to be avoided and three to be realised. As regards the former : having once gone to the Buddha for Refuge, do not pay court to the gods of transmigratory existence. Having once gone to the Dharma for Refuge do no harm to any sentient being. Having once gone to the Sangha for Refuge do not associate with heretics.

Firstly, the three things to be realised are as follows : In behaviour obey the commands of the Buddha unfailingly, whether they are actual or traditional. You should pay respect even to a fragment of a Buddha-Image. Having once heard the true Dharma, you must endeavour to learn, think about and meditate on it. You must respect even a fragmentary page of the Dharma. Thus, while associating with good Friends, you must respect even a rag of yellow cloth.

The five ordinary things to be practised are as follows : You must not abandon the Triple Gem even at the risk of your own life, nor seek another Refuge however dire may be your need. You must see that you yourself and others take Refuge at a proper time and without any lapsing. You must worship the Buddha everywhere you go.

Secondly, regarding the Enlightened Attitude, in general in this development there is a conventional approach and an ultimate one. The former is an intention to be concerned with Enlightenment for the sake of others. The latter is the transcending awareness which directly intuits the Void [No-thing-ness].

As to the conventional, if we analyse it, it has two aspects ; one is the intention, as it were the desire to go (for Refuge) and the other action, as it were the actual going, both being born of a certain preparatory behaviour for this. The cruder one is said to be the attitude which has been brought about by word of mouth, and the real one comes through the Force of Concentration on the Way. This mental approach is called Subtle, since it is attained through its own nature.

The ordinary approach is endowed with two characteristics, so that through Compassion it relates to sentient beings and through Higher Compassion it relates to Perfect Enlightenment. If these two corner-stones are not present or are incomplete, the Enlightened Attitude of the Mahayana is not possible. And for these two, at any moment, to bring about the intention there are two factors : cause and effect. The Cause is in reference to merits and the result is the intention to obtain Perfect Enlightenment.

Now as to the Cause : The saying 'I will practise liberality' is the same as the saying that the root of all happiness is subsumed under the triple basis of merits acquired through acts of generosity, through the observance of Morality and through Meditation.

When analysing them, the first two Super-Qualities (*Paramita*) from among the six are indicated by their own name. Patient-Endurance and Higher Comprehension are connected with merits derived from meditation and Super-Energy is the ally of them all. These six Super-Qualities depend on one's mental attitude. *Liberality* is the will to give—here, there, and everywhere—and the will to discard is *Morality*. *Patient-Endurance* is imperturbability, *Energy* is enthusiasm and *Concentration* is an undiverging sense of direction and *Higher Comprehension* is the analysis of the Dharma.

Secondly, as to the Effect : or intention to obtain Perfect Enlightenment—it is contained in the statement

‘Let Buddhahood be realised for the sake of all beings’.

There are two points here also, as is indicated by the phrase ‘for all beings’, which means our intention is towards all sentient beings by way of Compassion and by the phrase ‘Let Buddhahood be realised’ is meant the aspiration of Perfect Enlightenment through Higher Comprehension. Therefore, this statement depends on those foundations of the proposition : ‘I will realise Buddhahood for the sake of all sentient beings who are as limitless as the sky’ which is this intentional attitude.

Following on the mind that is filled by the intention, there are five things to be learnt. (i) Not to dismiss sentient beings from your mind. (ii) To hold to the idea of the usefulness of developing the Enlightened Attitude. (iii) To seek opportunities to acquire merit and knowledge. (iv) To strive to develop the *Bodhicitta*. (v) To accept the four good and to reject the four bad Doctrines. If one dismisses even one being from one’s mind one surrenders the intention for an Enlightened Attitude completely.

As far as being mindful of merit is concerned, because an emergence from oneself is being born and the energy required for developing the Enlightened Attitude is appearing, therefore one must always be mindful of it. And with regard to the acquirement of merit, because the power to develop the Enlightened Attitude has been generated, you must store knowledge and merit by many means, such as the seven factors in a puja.

The mind practises and purifies itself in three ways : (i) In principle, by meditation on the four immeasurable things. (ii) As actual procedure, thrice by day and thrice by night, to dwell on the aspiration to win Enlightenment. (iii) Learning that oneself and others are equal, by putting oneself in another’s shoes. These are the three training practices.

Regarding the four immeasurable things : (i) Loving-kindness is the desire that beings who have no happiness shall have it. (ii) Compassion is the desire that those who suffer should be free of their suffering. (iii) Joy is the desire that those who have happiness freed from suffering, shall never lose it. (iv) And Equanimity is the desire that the loves and hates of those who are passionate and full of aversion, of friend and foe, should be quietened.

Concerning the discipline of the mind itself : morning, noon, afternoon, evening, midnight and dawn ; at these six times recite this intention in either its full or its condensed form, since others and myself are alike in desiring happiness and freedom from suffering.

Now as to the putting oneself in another's shoes, means to say 'I will give happiness to all beings and take their suffering on myself'. And as for egoism and altruism, one's own affairs are thrown to the wind as we realise the importance of other people.

Regarding the eight good and bad Doctrines, one must perfect the good and reject the bad. The bad ones are as follows : (i) That it is all right to cheat those who should be respected. (ii) To feel ashamed when one should not feel ashamed. (iii) To cast aspersions on those who are good. (iv) To cheat any sentient beings.

The four good Doctrines are counteractions to these. (i) To know what is falsehood. (ii) To place everyone on the Perfect Path. (iii) To respect the Teaching of the Buddha-Sons as the Buddha's Himself. (iv) If one endeavours to maintain an honest attitude towards all beings in all existences, one must not forget the Enlightened Mind, to increase and develop all the qualities to spiritual levels and the Five Paths, like the waxing moon.

ADDRESS GIVEN ON THE OCCASION OF THE CENTENARY OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

HUMAYUN KABIR

Mr. Prime Minister, delegates, excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I consider it a very great privilege and honour to be here this morning on the occasion of the inauguration of the Centenary of the Department of Archaeology—India. I welcome the many distinguished delegates from many continents who have come here in response to our invitation. I think, Sir, I am right when I say that the Indian Archaeological Survey is perhaps the oldest organized Archaeological Survey in the world. It is perhaps the first time that the State has undertaken the preservation of monuments, their maintenance and their care. In the past, the tradition very often was for a great King or a dynasty to take advantage of the constructions of earlier periods and often build their own monuments out of the monuments of earlier times. In Egypt, Ramases the Second, one of the greatest builders in history, not only constructed himself on a very large scale but in many cases removed the seal of one of his predecessors and put his own seal on the temple to indicate that the construction was his and not of an earlier age. We have the same experience in practically every part of the world, but it is a pleasant surprise and discovery that in India in the Middle Ages, there were occasional deviations from this general practice. Ferozeshah Tughlaq repaired the *Qutb Minar* and he repaired the *Suraj Kund* and, in his way, showed perhaps the first indication of an interest in archaeology for its own sake.

These were however isolated efforts and organized attempts to preserve the heritage of the past began in India only about the end of the 18th century. It is inter-

esting to note that here also there was far-flung co-operation among scholars of many countries. Dr. Samuel Johnson wrote a letter to Warren Hastings suggesting that the great archaeological and other heritage of India should be preserved for the benefit of entire humanity. Sir William Jones took the initiative in establishing the Asiatic Society, which has contributed so richly to the development of cultural and intellectual life in India for almost two hundred years. Sir William Jones himself made certain notable contributions to Indian studies. He helped in establishing the affinity of Sanskrit and Persian on the one hand and Greek and Latin and German on the other. He also helped in establishing the synchronism of Chandra Gupta and Alexander and in this way helped in placing on a firmer foundation Indian chronology. A succession of very distinguished names followed. I can refer only to a few. James Prinsep is one of the great benefactors of Indian archaeology and one may say of Indian history, because it was his deciphering of the Brahmi and Kharoshthi scripts that revealed to the modern world the enormous wealth which lay hidden in the Asokan edicts and Asokan inscriptions. The Department of Archaeology, as an official agency, began a little later. In 1848 an attempt was made to establish the Department, but it did not succeed, and it was in December 1861, perhaps the 1st of December, 1861, almost exactly a hundred years ago, that the Indian Archaeological Survey was established with General Cunningham as the first Director or Director General.

It is interesting to note that at that time a number of people were pillaging some of our ancient monuments. At one stage, there was a proposal to dismantle the *Taj Mahal* and use the stones for other purposes. It came from some railway contractors, and we have had such contractors not only near Agra, but also elsewhere. In fact, some used some of the material of Mohenjo-daro

and Harappa in order to build the road-way for a railway line. But on December 1st, 1861, the Archaeological Survey was born and an era of care and protection for our ancient monuments began. The Survey has had its vicissitudes. It was suspended for a little while after five years, but revived in 1871. It was again suspended or at least many of the activities reduced towards the end of the century. Lord Curzon played an important and interesting role in reviving interest in archaeology. He had a very broad and generous conception of the function of Archaeology for writing history generally and particularly writing Indian history.

Sir John Marshall's name will always be remembered with gratitude by all Indian Archaeologists. Some of his methods have been questioned. It is, I suppose, one of the prerogatives of science that every succeeding generation stands on the shoulders of preceding generations and, therefore, looks taller. But, I think, Archaeology should also remind us that this appearance of height is sometimes illusory. Archaeology should continually remind us that the achievements of yesterday, which sometimes we ignore today, were just as glorious in those days as the achievements to which we pay our homage today. Sir John Marshall's services should never be forgotten. We have also to remember that it was during his period that Indian history was pushed back some two thousand years. It is true that at one stage Cunningham had almost tumbled upon Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. There were some excavations he had carried out round about 1873 in that area. He discovered a seal also, but it is very strange that with all his great archaeological acumen, he did not realize the full significance of his discovery. It was left to a young Indian archaeologist, Rakhal Das Banerjee, working under the leadership of John Marshall, to discover Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and reveal to the world that Indian civilization and culture of a highly developed type go back some six thou-

sand years from today. His work established that Indian civilization and culture are contemporaneous with the earliest civilizations and cultures of man.

After Sir John Marshall, there was again a period of comparative lull in the field of Indian archaeology. We must however remember with gratitude D. R. Sahani, the first Indian to be the Director General of Archaeology in India. Soon after he was followed by Dikshit, who will be remembered for two great services. He was the man who first encouraged Universities and other institutions in India to undertake archaeological explorations and excavations. If today Indian archaeology is enriched by the contributions of many Universities and many independent scholars, some of the credit for this should go to Dikshit. We are also grateful to Dikshit for the emphasis he placed on the Stone Age Archaeology. It is true that even before 1940, Stone Age Archaeology was at times studied, but it was from the time of Dikshit that adequate importance was paid to the proto-history and pre-history of India.

We now come to what has been sometimes called the Wheelerian period of Indian archaeology. We are very fortunate that today we have amongst us Sir Mortimer Wheeler, a great archaeologist and one who has rendered a great service to Indian archaeology by bringing in new technical and scientific methods and by training a band of young archaeologists of whom, I am sure, he is proud. We are all proud that our archaeologists today are making a name for Indian archaeology throughout the world and Sir Mortimer can claim credit for this development.

I will now very briefly refer to some of the achievements of Indian archaeology since independence. I will mention first its contribution in solving some of the hitherto hidden problems of ancient Indian history. Before the partition of the country, almost all the known Harappan culture sites were in what is today

Pakistan. After the creation of Pakistan, it seemed for a while that we would not have any of the remains of this basic Indian culture within Indian territory. Thanks to the work of Indian archaeologists and here also, I believe, Sir Mortimer Wheeler played a very important and interesting role, the situation has changed: Our archaeologists started work and under the leadership of a succession of Directors-General including our present Director-General, we have been able to find that this Harappan culture, as it is called, was perhaps the most extensive culture that the ancient world has known. How far west it extended, we do not know. It covered certainly Sind and possibly beyond. To the east, it stretched up to the banks of the Ganges and the Jamuna and to the south up to the banks of the Narmada and the Tapti. Not only so, we also found, as a result of the work of our archaeologists since independence, that this civilization may have begun as a riverine civilization but it soon developed into a maritime civilization. In Lothal, there was found a dock-yard, and a place where ships could be repaired. We also found evidence of very close trade connexions with the West. This confirms some of the findings in Western Asia, where Indian seals have been found. There is now reason to think that perhaps that mythical land—Dilmun—to which there are so many references in the archaeology and the history of Western Asia, may have been this golden land of India. Perhaps Dilmun was India, but we do not know for certain. Indications are that there was close maritime trade and Egyptian goods came to India and Indian goods went to Egypt.

Another important achievement of Indian archaeology since independence has been to clear up what was till now one of the darkest periods of Indian history. We did not know what happened after the collapse of the Harappan civilization. It is generally agreed that Harappan civilization came to an end somewhere about 1500

B.C., probably a little earlier, anyway sometime in the earlier half of the second millennium B.C. On the other hand, we have no definite history of India till about the 6th century B.C. About a thousand years of Indian history were thus unknown, but the work of our archaeologists in the last decade has thrown very interesting light on this dark period. It now seems clear that there was no sudden collapse of Harappan civilization—it decayed over a long period but some of its values continued. We know today that some of the most fundamental things in Indian culture like the mother cult, the worship of Siva, the humped bull, and more important the attitude of tolerance, can be traced back to this Harappan period. During this period of what was a dark interregnum till now, there are relics of Painted Grey Pottery which suggest affiliation with Western Asia. It is suggested that perhaps this pottery also marks the coming of the Aryans into India. In any case, there is close affiliation of India with Western Asia through this Painted Grey Pottery.

Soon after we have the emergence of the Northern Black-Polished Pottery. I know that most of our archaeologists will probably not accept my hypothesis, but not being a historian or archaeologist, we can venture into hypothesis and probably make suggestions which more orthodox archaeologists will dismiss. It may be that this Northern Black-Polished Pottery marked the beginning of the use of iron in this continent. It has been suggested that this very thin polished ware, extremely fine, which has some resemblance to steel, was the poor man's substitute and consolation for the steel ware which he could not afford. In this early period, steel was certainly one of the most expensive things that the world knew and the poor who could not use steel made earthen ware which looked like it. It may be so, it may not be, but, in any case, we have this succession of Pottery, first Harappan Pottery, then Painted Grey Ware Pottery and fin-

ally Northern Black-Polished Pottery. They may be successive stages of development but they are also juxtaposed and suggest that there were periods when they co-existed.

I now come to another field where our archaeologists have thrown new light on South India in the last 10 or 15 years. We know that the great iron age megalithic culture of South India was developed quite early in the 1st millennium B. C. I may now mention the way in which our archaeology rose to the challenge of Nagarjunakonda. We are all extremely grieved that on account of the construction of the Krishna dam, this valley will be submerged. Here was a claim of the living against the claims of the dead and the claims of the living have triumphed. The dam has to be built and the valley submerged, but our Archaeological Survey has excavated practically everything worth salvaging there. Not only so – some of the ancient monuments will be re-built with old materials in situations that will preserve the ancient memories. When the water rises some 80 metres, people will again be able to step down those steps to the river. They are the same marble steps down which 1500 or 2000 years ago, people marched to bathe in the Krishna River. The excavation and reconstruction of Nagarjunakonda is, I think, one of the great triumphs of the Department of Archaeology for which we should congratulate the Department.

Very recently, our Department of Archaeology had made another discovery which pushes back Indian history perhaps several thousand years. We have uncovered the first evidence of the pit-dwellers of India, a red-hot discovery that comes from the snow-clad region of Kashmir. We have found through excavations near Srinagar the dwellings of these pit-men. Indian archaeology is thus developing and throwing new light on forgotten chapters of Indian history.

Mr. Prime Minister, you will be glad to hear that

this centenary year marks another new departure for the Department of Archaeology. Our Survey will be taking part for the first time in an international expedition. It will be going to Nubia to excavate in order to discover some of the prehistoric sites there and to preserve for posterity some of the archaeological remains, some of the archaeological heritage, which will be drowned when the Aswan Dam is built.

Sir, this is the record of Indian archaeology over a hundred years. In a hundred years, it has many triumphs to its credit. I hope that with the devoted band of scholars who are in the Department, and the devoted band of scholars in the Universities and in other institutions our archaeological work will go from strength to strength. We are very fortunate that you have found time, Mr. Prime Minister, in spite of your heavy duties to come and inaugurate this function here today. We look upon you not only as one of the greatest statesmen in the world today but as an historian, as one who is a lover of the past and tries to understand the modern world in terms of what has happened in the past. We know you as one who has a sense of history and realises that if mankind has to survive the ordeals of the present age, he must draw upon the great spiritual resources of the past. We can draw upon these spiritual resources only if we are aware of what has happened throughout the world. Indian archaeology has established connexions of India with the entire world. Some of our stone implements in the sub-Himalayan regions and in Bengal point to Eastern Asia. The Grey Painted Pottery and the Lothal seals point to Western Asia and beyond. India has thus been a meeting place in the past and you, Mr. Prime Minister, are again trying to make India today a meeting place of all the cultures and all the civilizations of the world. You have shared Tagore's view of India as a place of friendship where all nations can come and assemble in friendship. You have often referred recently

to spirituality and science as the needs of the modern age. May I make one small amendment ? Science itself is spirituality for without the quest of truth there can be no Science. We may perhaps speak of technology and spirituality. In archaeology, we have a vivid example of this combination of technology and spirituality; spirituality in the quest of truth, spirituality in the quest for the eternal values of life, which alone can bind men together and preserve the world in this technological age ; and technology which can remove want, poverty and disease and by removing some of the causes of friction make this world a better place to live.

We are grateful that in your busy schedule, you have found time to come and speak to us of the problems of yesterday, of the day before, of today and tomorrow and beyond. I have very great pleasure in requesting the Prime Minister to inaugurate the Centenary of the Indian Department of Archaeology and the Asian Archaeological Conference.

I.C.C.R. NEWS

TALKS

Only one talk was held during the summer period:

The story of Ramayana in Indo-Persian—Dr. S. A. H. Abidi. Literature.

EXHIBITIONS

An exhibition of photographs on Bulgarian woodcarving, carving in churches and “beautiful Bulgaria” was displayed at Azad Bhavan in the last week of May in cooperation with the Embassy of the People’s Republic of Bulgaria. Minister Humayun Kabir inaugurated the exhibition on May 25, 1962.

VISITING PROFESSORS

Sardar Ikbāl Ali Shah who has been appointed the Council’s Visiting Professor to West Asia and North Africa with headquarters at Morocco, left for Gibraltar on 1st May, 1962.

He will give talks and lectures on Indian culture in a broad sense under the auspices of and in collaboration with universities, other educational institutions, cultural organizations and influential individuals in these countries. He will also write a series of articles about the countries in North Africa and West Asia, specially relating to their cultural relations with India, to be published by the Council.

Smt. I. Kelkar, Senior Lecturer of Sanskrit, Nagpur University, has been appointed as Council’s Lecturer at Trinidad (B.W.I.). She is scheduled to leave for Port of Spain in July to assume charge of her new post.

CULTURAL EXCHANGE

As a part of our programme for Cultural Exchange with Japan, paintings and handicrafts of Indian school children were presented to the Asia-African Friendship Society of Japan.

STUDENTS SERVICE UNIT

Three camps were held in May-June for overseas students. The attendance was 165 representing about 20 different countries. Two camps were held in Kashmir and one in Ootacamund.

The Kashmir camps were inaugurated by Sardar K. M. Panikkar, Vice-Chancellor of Jammu and Kashmir and graced by the visit of the Prime Minister Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. The campers were entertained by the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir and Sardar-i-riyasat. A trip to the Kolhai glacier was arranged where the

students put in some climbing and the day was a success. Excursions to places of interest in and around Srinagar were made.

The Ootacamund camp was inaugurated by the Governor of Madras and was also very successful. The campers also stopped at Bangalore and were taken around the industrial undertakings.

In all three camps, the students were encouraged to give talks on social customs and culture of their own countries.

The Student Service Unit also assisted the United States Information Service in organizing an orientation programme for Indian students selected for scholarships under the Cleveland International Youth Programme.

PUBLICATIONS

The following numbers of our journals have appeared

Cultural News from India Vol. III. No. 4 (July 1962).

Thaqafatul-Hind Vol. XIII No. 3 (July 1962).

Indo-Iranica Vol. XV No. 2 (June 1962).

"India and the World", a volume bringing together the three Azad Memorial Lectures of 1959, 1960 and 1961 by Jawaharlal Nehru, Arnold Toynbee and Clement. R. Attlee respectively, will shortly be out.

The Council has encouraged the publication in Turkish of Mahatma Gandhi's autobiography by agreeing to the purchase of 1,000 copies when ready. The translation and publication is being arranged by our Embassy in Turkey.

LIBRARY

The Library continued its presentation programme.

FINANCIAL AID

A scholarship was given to a Japanese student for the study of Hindi in India for 2 years.

The first instalment of a grant of Rs. 5,000 - sanctioned to the Indian Council for Africa towards its journal "Africa Quarterly" has been released.

REGION-WISE

Region-wise, facilities continued to be extended to overseas students on several fronts—admissions to college, vacation plans, on journey home and back. The Bombay office arranged visits to educational industrial institutions for those students who could not go out of the city during the vacation. The Calcutta office gave all assistance in organizing the meeting of the Youth Hostel Association at the International Students Home on 16th May, 1962.

BOOK REVIEWS

CH' AN AND ZEN TEACHING (Third series): Edited, Translated and Explained by Lu Kuan Yu (Charles Luk); Published by Rider & Company, London; pages 306; Price 35 shillings.

The volume under review is a fresh testimony of the growing interest in Zen Buddhism in the West. The author Upasaka Lu K'uan Yu, aged 64, is the Buddhist name of Canton-born Charles Luk, who has learnt his Zen not through books, but in the traditional manner from two *gurus*. The first one was a Lama of the White Sect and Red Caps and the second was the Venerable Ch'an Master Hsu Yun. Charles Luk now lives in Hongkong and has decided to translate all the important Zen texts into English. This volume is the third in the same series of translations; the first included six Ko-ans or stories of Ch'an Masters and a new translation of the Diamond and Heart Sutras; the second contained a summary of the different methods of teaching used by the five Ch'an Sects.

This third volume contains three texts:

- (1) *THE SUTRA OF THE SIXTH PATRIARCH* named the Dharma Treasure of the Altar Sutra (Lu Tsu Ta Shih Fa Pao Tan Ching), as edited by his disciple Ch'an Master Fa Hai.
- (2) Yung Chia's *SONG OF ENLIGHTENMENT*, from the transmission of the Lamp, with a commentary, and
- (3) *THE SUTRA OF COMPLETE ENLIGHTENMENT*. Translated into Chinese by Master Buddhatrata of Kabul (About A. D. 650), with commentary by Sakya Te Ching, generally known as Ch'an Master Nan Shah of Kuang Shah mountain (1546-1623):

Besides these translations there is a Glossary of Chinese and Sanskrit names, terms and places running to ten pages. Very neatly printed and well-produced, the volume contains a key to Mahayana Buddhist philosophy. As it travelled to Tibet, Mongolia, China, Korea and Japan it assumed different forms and gathered some local colour. The Indian Buddhist traveller GUNABHADRA erected an altar in the Sung dynasty (420-477) and another Indian Tripitaka Master in 502 A. D. planted a Bodhi tree by the altar and foretold that a Bodhisattva in flesh and blood later would expound the supreme vehicle under the tree. Later the Sixth Patriarch's real name in Cantonese was Wei Nang, but due to faulty pronunciation the Westerners knew him as Wei Lang. This volume is a collection of ten discourses on various subjects pertaining to Sila (morality).

discipline), Samadhi (mental imperturbability) and Prajna (wisdom); which are like three gates to the citadel of real Buddhahood. The book is full of many parables and aphorisms.

The second book is more poetic. It is called '*Song of Enlightenment*'. The three bodies of Buddha are Dharmakaya or essential body, perceptible only to Buddhas; Sambhogakaya, or reward-body, perceptible only to Bodhisattvas; and Nirmanakaya, or transformation-body perceptible to men and devas. In reality, they are merely three aspects of the same process of creativity and experience, while the Essence precedes the Existence. There are many interesting, condensed, wise sutras like:

"In their ignorance and folly they interpret
Wrongly the pointing finger of the empty hand
Mistaking finger for moon they practise aimlessly the teaching
And fabricate absurdities in the realm of sense and objects".

"I amassed much learning in my youth, searching
Sutras and Sastras and their commentaries.
Endlessly I discriminated between names and forms,
A task as vain as counting sandgrains on the ocean bed."

"As a huge elephant steps not in a hare's track,
A great awakening cannot be circumscribed".

The third part is devoted to a Vaipulyavadins *expose* of the futility of Mahayana and Hinayana controversy. Actually it is summarized in four Chinese characters—'K'ai Shih wu ju' which mean "opening, showing, awakening and entering". But to realize this illumination one's mind must be prepared. It must attain the 'trost' position. In the 'Mahaparinirvane Sutra' it is said:

"Mahakasyapa Bodhisattva said to the Buddha

'All Bhiksus should rely on four things.

On the Dharma but not on men;

On the meaning but not on words (and phrases);

On wisdom but not on consciousness, and

On the whole truth but not on the incomplete truth."

There is a warning on p. 157 of the text under the caption 'How to read sutras and Ch'an texts' which reads. "*A Mahayana sutra or a Ch'an text should never be read in hurry once or twice and then placed in the book-case like a novel or ordinary book. It should be read again and again, as many times as required, until the reader understands its profound meaning. At each reading, he will discover new meanings hidden underneath words and phrases.*"

I have been able to read the work only once, plodding through the technical terms and footnotes. I hesitate to review it further. Deep

faith must have prompted the author to undertake this great labour. To read such books is to prove the futility of all reading. Self-realization through meditation is what they lead to, the foothills of words and verbal contradictions are left far behind and below.

THE ZEN TEACHING OF SHIE HAI On Sudden Illumination : Rendered into English by John Brojeld (chu ch'an) ; Published by Rider & Company, London ; pages-151 ; price 15 shillings.

With a foreword by Charles Luk, this work consists of two parts : Part I gives the Mahayana instruction for self-realization of mind, for perception of self-nature and consequent attainment of Buddhahood ; Part II contains the dialogues between 'the Great Pearl' (Hui Hai) and those who came to him for instruction. The translator's introduction is of 41 pages and deals the birth of this translation, the method of translation, the inevitable complexity of Buddhism, the basic doctrines of Buddhism, the Mahayana and its varieties, the biography of the ch'an Master Hui Hai, the purpose of Ch'an (Zen) and its central doctrine and so on. It is most interesting to note that as Mahayana originated in India, the translator got the inspiration of writing this work in India. In his own words "while passing the winter of 1959-60 in Kalimpong, a flower-girt townlet in the Himalayan foothills, I spent several hours a day seated at the feet of one or other of those saintly and learned monks who had recently fled their Tibetan monasteries in search of a heaven where they could preach the Dharma without restraint or fear One day when I was gazing disconsolately at Kanchenjunga's majestic landscape, the thought came to me that I was wasting valuable time ' During the Second World War the author was forced to remain in a temple in West China where he read the Chinese texts, and got his first acquaintance with Ch'an. He speaks of his own translation in this volume as more interpretive than literal, because it is difficult to render into English 'the forcefully terse Chinese original' and a strictly literal translation 'would be less intelligible than telegraphese'. So at places the translator has taken the liberty to expound and elaborate. It makes the work all the more readable.

The translator as well as the foreword-writer have tried to defend the repetitions that occur in Buddhist texts in general and Chinese texts in particular. They have their own value in 'driving the point hammer-like'. May be it was necessary when knowledge was passed from teacher to the taught orally and in the form of an incantation. But in the age of the printing-press, its value is probably delimited to the devotees.

There are very penetrating questions and answers in both the

parts, though I enjoyed the Tsung Ching Record or the second part more. I will give a few examples :

(1) *No. 33 in Book. I.*

Q : What is the significance of the term 'Middle Way' ?

A : It signifies the extremem.

Q : I enquired about the Middle Way ; why do you say it signifies the extremem ?

A : Extremem are only valid in contradiction to the Middle Way. If at first you do not postulate extremem, from what can you derive the concept of the Middle Way ? This middle you are talking about was first used in relation to extremem. Hence we should realize that middle and extremem owe their existence to their mutual dependence and that all of them are transient.

(Page 72-73)

(2) *No. 21 in Book II :*

Someone asked : 'Is Prajna very large ?

Master : 'It is'.

Q : 'How long ?'

M : 'Unlimited'

Q : 'Is Prajna small ?'

M : 'It is'

Q : 'How small ?'

M : 'So small as to be invisible'.

Q : 'Where is it ?'

M : 'Where is it not ?'

(Page 110)

Throughout the Zen Buddhist method of rebuttal of the disjunctives there is a preconception, historically speaking, of Thesis-Antithesis-Synthesis. The negation of negation seems to be a favourite dialectical device used by the Zen Masters. Though believing in an ultimate Void (Sunya) many of them posit the sustaining category between being and non-being, a kind of vague BHUTA-TATHATA (Suchness of things) And so, though they seem to come very close to Hegel and Kierkegaard, the modern Existentialists, the Zen precursors do not seem to share the pessimistic WILLTANSCHAUNG of the moderns. Hui Hai had not probably seen an atom blast or a Buchenwald.

While reading the Zen texts one does not run away from the world. There is no exclusiveness between 'wu wei' (transcendental or *asamskṛta*) and 'yu wei' (worldly or *samskṛta*) in Zen. The unconditioned and the conditioned very happily co-exist, the whole attempt

of a Zen practitioner being to rise above these attributes. Zen uplifts, it does not bore. For the Zen believer, it is not all nausea or a 'No Exit' blind alley. Indian philosophy is deeply rooted in this achievement of the steadfast vision (Samyagdrishti of Gita) or the even earlier Isavasyopanishad warning :

Those who run after the worldly are going into darkness,
But those who are after the non-worldly are putting themselves
into a greater blindness.

The Indian, Chinese or Japanese way of Meditation is not an escape. It is not mere world and life negation. But as Aldous Huxley said in his 'Ends and Means'—'Every escape is also a fulfilment'. It depends on how one looks at it.

John Blojeid's book is an exercise in spiritual realization. For the student of Indian Yogasutras it is not a new idiom, the only difference being that while the Yoga ends in some formless Absolute Being (Brahma), Zen is still more difficult as it does not tempt with a vantalising reward at the end of the journey. In Zen it is ultimate 'Sunnyata' (Void) which faces the seeker—the abyss of 'choice' which flaunts and circumscribes and challenges the will at every moment. The necessity to freedom reverses the materialists' familiar position of 'Freedom as the recognition of necessity'. After reading Zen one begins to see the folly of our deterministic dreery dialectics—we were all the time putting the cart before the horse. It is 'I' who determines Nirvana (freedom) and not the other way round. To know that this 'I' is also void is a supreme 'sadhana', and Zen attempts to show the way.

P. MACHWE.

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